Straight
Lines
in
Curved
Space:

Colonization Roads in Eastern Ontario

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with the assistance of
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May 1978

Editor: D. Skene Melvin

. . . the Canadian pioneer is a square man in a round whole;
he faces the problem of trying to fit a straight line onto
a curved space. Of course, the necessity for the straight
lines is not in Nature but in his own head; he might have
had a happier time if he'd tried to fit himself into Nature,
not the other way around.

Margaret Atwood, <u>Survival</u> 1972

Population is needed for the valley of the Ottawa. To ob-
tain a way from Montreal to the Pacific Ocean, through
British territory, a people, thrifty, crop raising, corn
producing, city building, are wanted. These can only be
had by the construction of roads.

Thomas Murray, 1870

We, (lumbermen) like the miners, fail to realize that we
have left our last west; that nature, so prolific in this
country in this respect has no more virgin fields to offer,
and that the only means by which a supply can be maintained
to meet the enormous demands of future years is by husband-
ing the resources of the territory which we are now ex-
ploiting.

Elihu Stewart, 1908

In driving along the Hastings Road it is one long trail of
abandoned farms, adversity, blasted hopes, broken hearts,
and exhausted ambition. And the mute evidence of all is
empty dilapidated and abandoned houses and barns, orchards,
wells, old broken down stone and wooden fences, root cellars
and many other similar evidence of having given up the ghost.

C. F. Alysworth, 1925

Acknowledgements

Introduction

The colonization road research project was initiated in response to growing interest on the part of government bodies and local groups in the remaining physical resources which represent this episode in Ontario's settlement history.

At the same time, we realized that existing knowledge of these remnants was fragmentary. Straight Lines in Curved Space locates and describes historical resources in the landscape and relates them to the broader context of the colonization roads theme. It also outlines programs and suggests approaches which might assist in the preservation and development of the resources.

A visible 19th-century farming-lumbering landscape can be found on the Precambrian Shield in the eastern portion of the province approximately 100 miles north of Lake Ontario. Settlement of this region, drained by tributaries of the Ottawa River, was actively promoted by the provincial government in the 1850's. People were drawn to the Shield by a colonization scheme involving settlement roads stretching into the interior and lined by free-grant lots. Today, large portions of this region still reflect 19th-century landscape patterns of rural villages, log farmsteads and winding roads. The following report is a research and planning study for colonization roads in Hastings, Addington and Renfrew Counties. The report is made up of three sections.

1. Historical Essay, examining the history and significance of colonization roads in Ontario,

2. Resource Analysis, describing the pattern and elements of colonization road settlement as well as describing extant historical resources in the study area,

3. Planning for Colonization Roads, outlining a course of action and interpretive framework for developing colonization roads as historic and recreational routes.

Research Methods and Limitations

Straight Lines in Curved Space is a report based on document and field research. Historical research was undertaken initially, to analyze the significance of colonization road history and to identify the type of sites that would best represent that history. Architectural and site work followed, to discover actual resources and evaluate their historical integrity. Planning recommendations were the result of historical, architectural and practical considerations.

Historical information is based on secondary sources on lumbering and agricultural history, government reports and files, newspapers, local histories and interviews. The census rolls in the Public Archives of Canada were of particular value in the description and evaluation of settlement on the roads. Unfortunately, processing this data is very time-consuming and only a few rolls could be analyzed.

Architectural and site information is based on historical and field research. Approximately five weeks were spent in the field, three weeks in the summer and fall of 1976 and two weeks in the fall of 1977. Field work involved recording and evaluating historical resources. It was not possible to obtain specific historical documentation for candidate sites along the roads.

Planning recommendations evolved with the basic research and are based on historical and architectural information.

Postscript - I returned to Renfrew county in the summer of 1978 to view the colonization roads once again. It was disappointing to find that several important structures had disappeared, most notably the Curry farmhouse - post office at Esmonde. Log buildings are quickly vanishing from the landscape of the Ottawa Valley, they either fall prey to weather or to builders using old logs to construct new homes outside of the area.

Contents

Illustrations

1. *Abandoned farmstead, Kennelly's Mountain, Summer 1976.*

Patterns on the Land, an Introduction to the Region

The Cultural Landscape

The south-Shield region of Ontario was once a vast primeval forest, a wilderness almost untouched by mankind. The trees were giants by today's standards, towering over 100 feet in height. During the late 19th century, this same region was transformed into a cut-over wasteland, occupied by subsistence farmers barely making a living from the thin rocky soils. The trees were gone and the landscape was strewn with abandoned farms, "scenes of dreary life-long forsaken desolation, over which the silence of the grave reigned".[1] This section of the Shield had passed from its natural state to become a "cultural landscape"[2]; what was once a wilderness had become a frontier, settled and exploited by lumbermen and farmers. The southern Shield had been a field of battle between man and the landscape: a battle with few real winners and no empires, only regrets.[3]

This study will focus on the colonization of the Shield in southeastern Ontario, specifically in the Counties of Hastings, Lennox and Addington, and Renfrew. This area, drained by the Ottawa River and its tributaries, the Mississippi, Madawaska and Bonnechere Rivers, shares in the greater history of the Ottawa Valley. The story told here is also representative of the entire southern Shield in Ontario; the development of lumbering, farming and colonization roads was a common experience for the whole region.

The Precambrian Shield of southern Ontario has long provided a line of demarcation, separating two very different kinds of settlement. The southern fringe of the Shield, examined in this study, represents a transitional zone clearly distinguishing areas to the south and north. It shares the characteristics of both regions but belongs fully to neither.[4] To the south lies the agricultural and industrial heartland. The cities and towns of the south are surrounded by a hinterland of closely-settled agricultural land. To the north are isolated mining and lumbering communities, based on the exploitation of vast resources. Between the two lies the southern Shield, both an agricultural frontier and the first area of intensive resource exploitation in Ontario. This region's pattern of settlement imitates the dense filled-in grid of the south, with the bare bones of a few roads and scattered farms. The south Shield is characterized by an attenuated settlement pattern with large sections of unalienated or unimproved land. Settlement took place along the rivers and colonization roads. This established a crisscross net pattern of distribution, similar to the south but here the net remained empty. What is left is a narrow ribbon of settlement with a few branching strands, stretching from Renfrew to Barry's Bay to Madoc in Hastings County.[5] This region, like parts of northern Ontario, carries the scars of the lumber industry. The great pine forests are gone and puny second-growth deciduous trees have taken their place. Large sections of this region have been denuded of trees, the soil has been burned or eroded and bare rock remains.

This region is characterized by arrested development, frustrated ambition and lost opportunity. Nineteenth-century Canadians, trying to emulate the industry and prosperity of the south, exploited the trees and exhausted the soil. They not only failed to establish a permanent agricultural economy but they also destroyed their most important resource, the pine forest. Large scale timber operations ceased during the 1890's and the consequent farm abandonment that followed has been a trend for most of this century. The landscape remains a relic of an earlier time; its appearance has hardly altered from the 19th-century farming – lumbering days.

The creation of such a landscape depends on man. In the Shield region, however, there was a reciprocal relationship between man and the natural environment; both were affected by the experience of settlement. The pattern that developed on the land, although shaped by man, was also strongly affected by natural factors.

MAP
OF PART OF THE
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
CANADA

Compiled and prepared for the
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
FROM THE LATEST GOVT SURVEYS, MAPS, &c. &c.

by
W. J. S. HOLWELL, P. L. S.
1871

Scale of Miles.

GEORGIAN BAY

SURVEYED TERRITORY

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

OTTAWA RIVER

LAKE ONTARIO

Hamilton to Cape Vincent 150 Miles
235 feet above the Sea 100 Fathoms deep

PROVINCE OF QUE
OTTAWA RIVER

4

3

COLONIZATION ROADS   EASTERN ONTARIO

Colonization Road – passable   – – – – –

Colonization Road – impassable   ·····90·····

Highway   ─○90○─

Lakes & Rivers

Connecting Side Road   ─·─·─·─

0   4   8   12
└────┴────┴────┘ Miles

N

5

The Natural Environment

In the history of Shield colonization, it is important to remember that the natural environment of this region was very different from that of the first-settled Front townships bordering on the Great Lakes. Unfortunately 19th-century settlers did not fully understand the limitations of their land. In this region, geographic factors presented great obstacles to permanent settlement.

The bedrock of the Shield had been battered by the force of glaciation into a rugged topography. The great sea of ice swept away a thin mantle of soil and weathered rock, and often exposed the bedrock. Glaciers excavated thousands of shallow rock basins, creating many lakes and leaving a chaotic drainage pattern. The net effect of glaciation was a roughening of the landscape, softer rock was gouged out and small differences were emphasized. [7]

The rocks and ridges of the Shield were a persistent barrier to transportation and settlement. The land in the eastern-Ontario region has been designated as part of a rock-knob complex: characterized by rolling hills, exposed bedrock, peat and muskeg swamps and thin sandy soils. Some sections within this complex are of rock-ridge-and-pocket land type, where deeper pockets of sandy and somewhat less acidic soils are found. [8] These pockets of better soils are separated from each other by areas of rough terrain. In the few sections where limestone forms the bedrock, the soils and terrain are somewhat better for agriculture; the region north of Madoc village is an example of this. In Renfrew County, the Ottawa-Bonnechere *graben* (great down-dropped blocks of rock) contains several sections where Ordovician limestone has been protected from erosion. This area runs from the St. Patrick fault south of Lakes Calabogie and Clear to the Coulonge fault north of Allumette Island and better soils support some agriculture. [9] Glacial deposits such as eskers, kames and spillways are also important as agricultural areas. [10] However, even these areas of better

BEDROCK

PEMBROKE
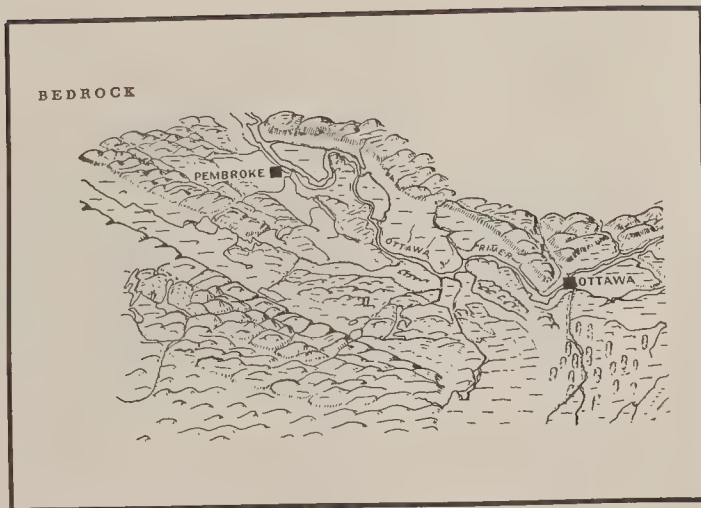
OTTAWA

4. *Ottawa - Bonnechere Graben, Ref. L.J. Chapman, D.F. Putnam, The Physiography of Southern Ontario, Second Edition, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1951, p. 11. Courtesy of the Ontario Research Foundation.*

soils are only suitable for part-time or marginal farming.

The podsolic soils of the Shield present great diffi-culties to the farmer. Podsols are leached, sandy, acidic soils and they require the application of lime and ferti-lizer to make them viable for cropping. Soil formed under pine trees is particularly bad: often having poor or exces-sive drainage, a pronounced grey leached layer and organic matter poorly incorporated with the mineral layer. Soils under hardwoods are better, "the organic layer is fairly well mixed with the surface mineral layer"[11], and the grey leached area is thinner or not apparent at all. Many soils in the region are liberally mixed with rocks of varying size, from pebbles to huge boulders.

Moreover, the climate of the southern Shield is a hin-drance to farming. For example, the area is subject to a high frost hazard; north Hastings averages less than 90 days of frost-free weather annually, and in Algonquin Park there has been frost recorded in every month of the year.[12]

Although poor agriculturally, the area was rich in nat-ural resources: minerals, water and trees. The region's most plentiful natural resource was its forest, providing a veritable paradise for the lumberman, so vast that it was regarded as limitless and harvested relentlessly. The Ot-tawa River system was a tremendous boon to lumbermen. The rivers carried lumber hundreds of miles to Quebec and al-lowed the industry to grow into a large-scale far-reaching phenomenon. The river system channelled passage to the in-terior; it was followed by lumbermen, farmers, roads and railways. This great transportation route, by aiding the lumber industry and defining early communications, had a profound effect on Shield settlement.

Although this part of the Shield is known for its vari-ety of mineral deposits, mining was never of prime impor-tance for settlement. Most deposits were too small to sup-port a community. Only two villages, Craigmont and Black Donald, were established because of mining. Further, in the vicinity of Madoc and Marmora, iron mining in the 1820's and a gold rush in the 1860's stimulated interest in the area and brought in some settlers. However, on the whole, the lumber industry was the most important factor affecting the rise and decline of settlement.

Man's Influence

Lumbermen and agricultural settlers misused the land-scape of the southern Shield. Important cultural factors affecting settlement in this region include: man's system of exploitation, his attitudes and experience, and goals, as well as technology and government policy.

Lumbering and farming were the two major systems of ex-ploitation in the Shield. In the 19th century, the rela-tionship between these two was seen by many to be one of mu-tual benefit. The lumbermen needed local labor and cheap supplies of hay and oats, while the farmer benefited from a ready market for his surpluses and a place to work in the winter. Some lumbermen were suspicious of this relationship; they noted that, as agricultural land increased, timber land disappeared. However, most lumbermen gave a grudging ac-ceptance to farmers, if only to profit by roads built to encourage agricultural settlement.

Although perceived to be complementary, farming and lumbering were two very different systems of exploitation. Plans should have been made to accommodate both; instead, they eventually clashed, to the ultimate loss of both indus-tries.

Lumbering was a natural industry in the Shield, the pine seemed endless, the rivers were tamed to allow the pas-sage of timber and markets existed in Britain and America. Lumber was a big business controlled by a few powerful men. It required high capital investment; improvements had to be made in the rivers, thousands of workers had to be imported into the area, shanties had to be set up in the bush and tote roads had to be built to the rivers. The industry was based on urban centres for the forwarding of supplies and for its work force. It had a huge hinterland of operations,

spreading across the Ottawa Valley and covering the whole eastern-Shield region. Operations moved quickly through the bush, felling immense numbers of logs.

Unlike lumbermen, farmers had to struggle against adverse conditions on the Shield. There were other differences as well; farming was a low-capital, individual industry. The business grew slowly, aiming first at self-sufficiency and then, perhaps, at making modest profits from surplus crops. It was static and regionally intensive; a farmer cannot quickly build up profits and move elsewhere. Finally, agriculture was viewed at the time to be a stable, permanent industry; lumbering would soon disappear, while farms would go on forever.[13] It was not understood that Shield farmers depended on the lumber industry for markets and must always do so.

A continued tension between these two industries is revealed in Shield history. The affect of their conflict was the speedy destruction of the forest and the eventual abandonment of settlement.

The two systems of exploitation were quite different but both lumbermen and farmers had similar attitudes towards Shield resources. No thought was given to renewing the Shield's forest; rather, it was seen as a vast mine of wealth that could be exploited forever. In the 19th century, the value placed on progress, profits and civilization justified the wholesale destruction of the forest. H.V. Nelles describes this underlying extractive attitude in his Politics of Development,

> . . . a frontier community, finding itself surrounded by an oppressive expanse of forest stretching for unimaginable distances in almost every direction, set out to remove it as the first task of orderly agricultural settlement. Lumbermen conveniently led the assault, slashing their way through the finest timber stands, while pioneer farmers swarmed in behind, burning everything that remained . . . such a paramilitary destruction . . . was to be explained by the fervour of the

civilizing instinct within a context of apparent abundance . . . The simple vastness of the forest ensured that man might not wholly prevail against it for centuries.[14]

Although the forest was viewed as limitless it was, at the same time, seen as non-renewable: "like a giant mineral deposit, which was permanent simply by virtue of its size, and could be exploited only once and then passed on to the farmers."[15] In eastern Ontario, this resource soon came to an end. Shield forests were cut over and left to the farmers but, unfortunately, these settlers were unable to establish prosperous, long-lasting communities.

In this process of exploitation, we see the attitudes of many men shaping the whole landscape; however, on the individual level, attitudes and experience had an effect on settlement as well. The motives of a single settler could determine how he developed his land and how long he stayed on it. Pseudo-settlers or "timber-rustlers", desiring quick and easy profits, would illegally strip their land of trees and soon leave.[16] Bona fide settlers, desiring a comfortable home and space for their families to expand, would try harder and stay longer. Poorer settlers were pleased by the prospect of owning their own land and were loath to give it up. Immigrants often desired to live near their own people and settled in to enjoy their own language and culture.

Some settlers were more experienced than others and this could affect their success. Immigrants were often ignorant of the chopping and clearing methods necessary in the pine forests and they would work as laborers for a year or two to develop these skills. Stories of the English gentleman-farmers, who were unable to cope with the Canadian wilderness, were a common entertainment for critics of this type of settlement[17] Inexperience could force a settler to abandon his clearance after a few years of failure.

Technology can also affect settlement. In the 1880's and 90's, improved farm machinery was adopted by Shield farmers anxious to improve their land. Unfortunately, the effect of machines was often negative, the fields were too

hilly and the soil too thin to admit harvesters, tractors, etc. and the expense of buying them was not repaid by easier work.

It is often the case that the pioneers are the sole bearers of the agent of culture in a virgin territory but, on the Shield, settlement was affected by another group, the politicians. The Canadian government built colonization roads through the Shield region in the 1850's, in order to facilitate lumber traffic and encourage agricultural settlement. These roads established a distribution pattern that is still visible today.[18] Apparently, the advantage of better transportation, coupled with the adverse conditions in the whole region, kept settlers tied to this road pattern. Settlers were placed in locations by a Crown Land agent; their input into the total pattern depended on whether or not they stayed. Where the roads corresponded with better farming conditions and more determined settlers, the land is still occupied.

Footnotes

1. Joshua Frazer, _Shanty Forest and River Life_, John Lovell and Son, Montreal, 1883, p. 103.

2. The term "cultural landscape", as it is used by Carl Sauer, orients the study of geography towards the effect man has had on the landscape. Any part of the world that has been affected by man must be regarded as a cultural landscape; one cannot understand a region until one "has learned to see it as an organic unit, to comprehend land and life in terms of each other." Carl Sauer, _Land and Life_, John Leighly (ed), U. of California Press, Los Angeles, 1974, p. 322.

3. The lumber barons could be termed "winners" in this contest. They made their fortunes from the trade, however, they did not succeed in establishing permanent lumber reserves in eastern Ontario as they had hoped. Eventually they lost their empires. For an explanation of this failure see R.P. Gillis, "The Ottawa Lumber Barons and the Conservation Movement, 1880-1914," _Journal of Canadian Studies_, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1974.

4. J.H.B. Richards "Agricultural Patterns in the Precambrian Area of Southern Ontario," _Canadian Geographer_, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 70.

5. _Ibid._, p. 63.

6. For a more detailed description of this model see Carl Sauer, _Land and Life_, _op. cit._, p. 393.

7. J.H.B. Richards, "Land Use and Settlement Patterns on the Fringe of the Shield in Southern Ontario," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1954, p. 2.

8. These land classifications are outlined in J.H.B. Richards, "Agricultural Patterns in the Precambrian Area of Southern Ontario," _op. cit._, p. 166.

9. See map. Clyde C. Kennedy, _The Upper Ottawa-Valley_, Renfrew County Council, 1970, p. 50.

10. J.H.B. Richards, Ph.D. Thesis, _op. cit._, p. 2.

11. G.A. Hills, _Pedology and Agricultural Settlement in Ontario_, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, p. 13.

12. J.H.B. Richards, "Population and the Economic Base in Northern Hastings County, Ontario," _Canadian Geographer_, 1957.

13. H.V. Nelles, _The Politics of Development_, University of Toronto Press, 1974, p. 184.

14. _Ibid._, p. 183.

15. Ibid., p. 184.

16. For a detailed examination of timber rustling and regu-
     lations designed to prevent it see the section "Crown
     Land Regulations" in Chapter III of this essay.

17. Joshua Frazer, op. cit.

18. J.H.B. Richards, "Agricultural Patterns in the Precam-
     brian Area of Southern Ontario", op. cit., p.70.

Introduction to a History of Settlement

The Four Stages

A history of settlement for this region will reveal how
cultural factors clashed with the natural landscape and cre-
ated the pattern of destroyed forests and abandoned farms.
Settlement followed four stages of development and decline.

Initial Settlement

At first colonization was retarded by physical features
and legal restrictions. It was not until the advent of the
square-timber industry that permanent settlement came to the
Shield. In the 1820's, squatters began moving into the
area, locating along rivers and lumber tote roads.

Road Building

In the 1850's, the government catalyzed the settlement
process by surveying townships and building free-grant colo-
nization roads. Settlers took up the gift lots in the
1850's and 60's and tested the land for its agricultural
capacity. The poorest land was abandoned immediately.
Stopping-places, grist and saw mills were established in
favorable locations.

The Best Years

In the period between 1860 and 1890, hard-working set-
tlers farmed the better land and tried to develop a perma-
nent agricultural economy. Villages grew around the stop-
ping-places and mills. Population increased or remained
stable.

Decline

After 1890, the lumber industry moved out of the dis-
trict. Farmers, without their markets, were defeated by the

5.   19th-century Renfrew town (Public Archives of Canada).

6. *Lumber shanty of the MacLachlin Lumber Co., (Courtesy of the Charles Macnamara collection, Archives of Ontario).*

land and forced to abandon their homes. Population began to
drop and this trend continued into the 20th century.

Initial Settlement

Fur Traders and Early Settlers

Traditionally, the waterways of the Shield offered
first access for the European. The rough topography of the
region made its waterways the only route to the interior.
French explorers followed the natives who had used the riv-
ers for thousands of years to travel in and out of the re-
gion. This access was never easy, for rushing waterfalls,
boiling rapids and difficult portages plagued every voya-
geur.[1] Thomas C. Keefer, civil engineer and promoter of the
colonization roads, described the Ottawa River route in
1854,

> . . . there is scarcely a rapid the white swells
> of which have not proved a winding sheet for the
> bold voyageur, or reckless lumberman.[2]

Despite these difficulties, the Ottawa was an incomparable
route to the interior; settlement penetrated this region
long before it reached the Shield in western Ontario.

French fur traders used the Ottawa River as a route to
Georgian Bay and established trading posts along its banks.
The British continued this trade and established more posts,
including one on the Bonnechere River and one in what is now
Algonquin Park.[3]

Charles Shirrif and his sons, promoters of an Ottawa
River-Georgian Bay canal, were among the first settlers on
the upper Ottawa, arriving in 1818. They settled just below
Chats Falls at what is now Fitzroy Harbour. Another early
settler was the infamous Laird of the McNabs who established
an agricultural community in the Arnprior area around 1825.[4]

Squatters

Settlers had been slow arriving in this region, because of natural features and government restrictions. Pioneers found the Precambrian rocks and poor soils uninviting. Land policy in Upper Canada also hampered colonization. Between 1825 and 1850, alienation of public land was allowed by sale only, because of previous abuses in the land granting and reserves systems.[5] In addition to this, there were large portions of the southern Shield still not surveyed and not available for sale. However, by 1820, there were already a few "widely separated individual frontier farms won from the wilderness" on the upper Ottawa.[6] Most of these settlers were squatting on unsurveyed territory, seeking to capitalize on the shanty market. This type of squatter settlement also occurred in north Hasting and Lennox and Addington Counties, before the colonization roads were built.

The lumber industry in the Ottawa Valley received its first impetus in 1807 when Philemon Wright, founder of Hull, took the first raft of square timber to Quebec via the Ottawa River.[7] Soon, timber operators moved up the Ottawa and its tributaries, felling pine for sale in Britain. Farmers were not long in following.

In the 1820's, these timber squatters moved up the rivers and along the lumber tote roads. They settled close to lumber operations. Lumber companies had already established their depot farms to grow crops and house men. Squatters hoped to imitate their success by establishing private depot farms or stopping-places,[8] providing lodging for shantymen and selling crops for their winter provisions. The growing lumber industry required supplies to feed the shantymen and and teams of horses working in the bush all winter. Transporting these supplies up the Ottawa Valley was very expensive, adding considerably to their cost. Consequently, farmers living close to the shanties had a protected market, particularly if they grew oats, hay and other bulky goods that could be sold for extremely high prices.

R.L. Jones points out several drawbacks to this type of settlement. One was the location of squatters' farms which were often situated near a tote road, more with an eye to easy transport to the camps than to the value of the soil on the lot.[9] The cash market of shanties encouraged a distinctive type of farming. The most successful farmers, those who stayed the longest, grew hay and oats: cash crops most easily grown in the first years of settlement. Repeated cropping of hay and oats quickly sapped the productivity of the thin soils and was a "wretchedly parsimonious and improvident method of keeping stock."[10] It was, at best, a transitional type of farming. If settlers had adopted better farming methods, including crop rotation and the use of manure, they might have preserved the fertility of the soil. If the lumbermen had preserved the forests, the shanty market might have lasted much longer. However, the lumbering was not stable and, when the industry went into decline, the farmers were ruined.

A crisis in 1847 caused timber squatters above Chats Lake, "at the very door of the shanties,"[11] to abandon their holdings. The colonization roads, designed to aid settlement, actually put settlers at a disadvantage in terms of the shanty market. The roads allowed lumbermen to bring in supplies more cheaply than before, hence lowering the prices local farmers received for their crops.[12]

The timber squatter and later colonization-road settler was neither an agriculturalist nor a lumberman, though he often tried to combine the two operations by farming in the summer and lumbering in the winter. Many settlers and their sons worked as teamsters driving the horses that moved timber and supplies for the camps. The symbiotic relationship between lumbering and farming broke down when the shanties moved farther into the interior and the farmer spent more time travelling to and fro, leaving less time for him to clear and work his land. Eventually the farmers were left stranded on their depleted soil, unable to profit from either industry.

Crown Land Regulations

Another aspect of the problematic relationship between farming and lumbering was the phony settler who had no intention of farming his land. These timber rustlers were a problem throughout the 19th century. They squatted on good pine lands or bought them by making a small down payment, then proceeded to cut and sell the best trees off their locations, even though this was illegal. Pine was reserved by the Crown and only licence holders could cut it. Lumbermen returning to their licenced timber limits in the winter might find that a settler had put up a shanty in the summer and was vociferously laying claim to the pine and river improvements on his land. Timber rustlers gave *bona fide* settlements a bad name. They took up land unfit for agriculture, plundered the pine, left an abandoned and rotting farm to scar the landscape. Lumbermen constantly reiterated the need to distinguish between good lumber and agricultural land in this region, and to keep settlement in hardwood areas, where the soil was better for farming. Unfortunately, the government was unable to accomplish this delineation and phony settlers continued to take up pine lands.

Bona fide settlers also wanted to sell the pine off their land for much-needed cash, but this was strictly forbidden by Crown Land regulations.[13] In 1849 regulations were passed in an attempt to prevent timber rustling. The Crown reserved ownership of all pine trees, only a licence holder could cut and sell it. The settler was permitted to cut pine for legitimate clearing and building purposes. Timber cut on land being purchased was collected by the government as partial payment for the land. In 1860, the settler was given the right to sell his pine for purchasing the land, if he had fulfilled settlement conditions and had taken out a $4.00 licence. If another licence was held on the land, it took precedence. However, at this time, lumbermen holding licences began paying settlers for their pine anyway, to keep them from starting clearing fires that could spread through the entire timber berth.[14] By 1880, a settler received the pine with his patent; but it was sold at regulated and rather low prices, 25¢ per 1000 board feet.

In theory, all pine was reserved for the lumber industry or licence holders but, in practice, these regulations proved to be unenforceable. Timber rustlers continued to settle and plunder, while genuine farmers got off by paying double duties for their timber.[15] What developed was a competition between large- and small-scale operators, both trying to get the pine as soon as possible.

Official attitudes and policy in the timber lands reveal a confusion within the Crown Lands department about the relative value of lumbering and farming. The two industries required very different land regulations but the government tried to accommodate both, to the satisfaction of neither.

The problem for the Crown Lands Department was how best to administer public lands for the benefit of all. Although timber generated great revenue, it was seen as a transitory industry. Agriculture was more desirable in the long run, as Justice Morin former Commissioner of Crown Lands made very clear in 1855. He stated that public lands should be sold,

> ...in lots of small extent to actual settlers with such regulations as may best obtain the object of having a proprietary and independent population... a speedy improvement of forest lands is congenial to the consideration of a country receiving constant immigration for which no great manufacturing occupation is to be found; because a proprietary population, not over-burdened with ground rents is a guarantee of peace and order for the future.[16]

Footnotes

1. For a complete description of the Ottawa River Valley, primary access route to the Shield in southern Ontario see Clyde C. Kennedy, The Upper Ottawa Valley, op. cit., pp. 7-39.

2. Keefer is quoted in Clyde C. Kennedy, ibid., p. 9.

3. Ibid., p. 93.

4. A play based on the lairds' attempt to establish a Scottish fiefdom in the wilds of Canada appears in Joan Finnigan, I Come from the Valley, N.C. Press Ltd., Toronto, 1976, pp. 23-54.

5. J.H.B. Richards, "Lands and Policies: Attitudes and Controls in the Alienation of Lands in Ontario During the First Century of the Settlement," Ontario History, Vol. L 1958, No. 4, p. 202.

6. Clyde C. Kennedy, op. cit., p. 131.

7. J.H.B. Richards, "Land Use and Settlement Patterns...," op. cit., p. 84.

8. Depot farms were operated by lumber company employees to provide pasture and winter feed for horses and cattle, and fresh vegetables for the shantymen. Located near the timber operations they avoided high shipping costs and provided lodging for the men on their way to the shanties. Privately-owned stopping-places served the same functions of lodging men and growing crops, Ed. McKenna, A Systematic Approach to the History of the Forest Industry in Algonquin Park, 1835-1913, a report for the Ministry of Natural Resources and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Historical Planning and Research Branch, 1976.

9. R.L. Jones, History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1946.

10. Ibid., p. 114.

11. Ibid., p. 111.

12. Ibid.

13. All the information in this section on laws and restrictions is based on The History of Crown Timber Regulations, Ontario Sessional Papers, 1907, pp. 254-256.

14. Larry Turner, "Great Expectations: The Commercial and Agrarian Frontiers on the Canadian Shield in Ontario," unpublished essay, Trent University, December 1975.

15. J.E. Hodgetts, Pioneer Public Service, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 155, p. 136.

16. Ibid., p. 126.

7. Kennelly's Mountain, south of Mount St. Patrick, Bonnechere - Madawaska road.

The Roads Too Far 1850-1860

The Decision

In 1854, Peter Vankoughnet, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, announced the decision to promote immigration onto the Shield, with a policy of government-built roads, free-grant lands and advertising abroad. His decision was based on the recommendation of John Rolph, former rebel, now Reformer, and Minister of the newly-created Department of Agriculture.[1] At the heart of this policy was the belief that farming and lumbering could co-exist on the Shield, and that agriculture would eventually supersede the lumber industry.

This policy was based on precedent: colonization roads had already been successful in Upper Canada. After 1841, the Owen Sound road from Fergus was opened in part of the province; it was soon settled along its entire length.[2] Other roads were built in the area north and west of Toronto, all connecting to older roads leading to urban centres.[3]

However, the colonization roads, announced in 1854, were the first built to establish settlement on the Shield. A separate fund was set aside to survey and build the roads, ex-rebel David Gibson supervised the western region while A.H. Sims was given the east.[4] Work had already commenced on the Ottawa and Opeongo, and Rolph's recommendations for two other roads in Hastings and Addington Counties were soon to be implemented.

The Opeongo road, running from the junction of the Bonnechere and Ottawa Rivers into the region now encompassed by Algonquin Park, was begun in 1854 in response to pressure from John Egan, the powerful lumber baron of the upper Ottawa.[5] Lumbermen had been paying into Crown coffers for years with timber limits and duty on cut timber. They had borne the cost of most of the river improvements such as dams, slides and chutes required to transport timber downstream to Quebec. In the 1850's, with their operations extending far back from the Ottawa River, they demanded that the government repay their industry by building service roads into the interior. The government responded with a road from Arnprior to Pembroke[6] and in 1854 announced that a series of roads would be built, connecting the timber lands to the Ottawa River, Lake Huron and the Front townships. This network of colonization roads would allow lumbermen to haul supplies into their most remote shanties at a lower cost.

The lumbermen needed service roads and they were willing to accept agricultural settlement in order to get them. Always wary of timber rustlers, the lumbermen agreed that *bona fide* settlement in hardwood areas could provide the shanties with much-needed fodder crops. Suggestions that it was the lumbermen who initiated the colonization program put too much emphasis on their role in the decision.[7] Considering lumbermen's misgivings voiced at the time,[8] it seems much more likely that Egan and others, realizing the popular demand for agricultural settlement, gave lip service to the agrarian myth in order to get their service roads.

The decision to build the roads was based on an ambitious hope that the Shield would be the future home of millions of agriculturalists.[9] Upper Canada had received thousands of immigrants in the 1830's and 40's and had experienced boom conditions as people flowed through the port of Quebec and along the St. Lawrence, into the southern part of the province. By 1850 the south was full, all the land was alienated and now sold for high prices.[10] Population pressure increased, as farmers' sons and new immigrants sought cheap farming land. Many Canadians and recent arrivals began to move into the American west. The Canadian government was concerned with reversing this process and hoped to open a new agricultural frontier on the Shield.

Commercial classes in Upper Canada supported colonization roads as a stimulus for immigration. Their prosperity was tied to the St. Lawrence transportation system, once used by American traffic, now dependent on new Canadian settlers and domestic trade.[11] Apart from the lumber industry, which was seen as a transitory phenomenon, there was no employment for new settlers; agriculture was seen as the only

industry that would support growth.[12]

Upper-Canadian farmers wanted to extend their influence over the new territory. They wanted room for their sons and they viewed the land as theirs by right. In their eyes, lumbering was seen as unproductive; the people, not the lumber barons, should develop the land. David Roblin, reform member of the legislature for Lennox reflected this attitude in 1854 when he objected to the American plan of selling land to lumbermen, because it would, "place in the hands of the rich and opulent capitalist, all the good lands of the Crown."[13] This popular belief in the agrarian myth that farmers were the most productive members of society was supported by most reform politicians long caught up in the question of land ownership in Canada. William Lyon Mackenzie's contention in 1834 that, "the sovereign holds the lands . . . in trust for the public good."[14] was echoed in his resolution of 1852 asking for a survey of the Ottawa-Huron territory. He recommended that,

. . . to ensure the more speedy settlement of said uninhabited tract, to provide homes for the youth of Canada, encourage immigration and prevent emigration, every alternate quarter section of 150 acres be bestowed upon every actual settler, the head of a family who . . . owns no other land.[15]

In 1852 the legislature passed the Public Lands Act making it lawful for the government to give free grants of land along public roads in newly-surveyed townships to *bona fide* agricultural settlers.

Political factors also affected the decision to colonize the Shield. Francis Hinks, head of the reform coalition and member from Renfrew, supported the colonization roads as part of a political compromise,

Therefore while the 1850's enjoyed large-scale commercial and railway speculation on the part of the government, farm demands had to be kept in view. Colonization roads functioned as a counterbalance to railway speculation, an unspoken agreement that if commercial and railway expansion was

supported by the farmer they would receive in return new roads to open up vast agricultural areas.[16]

Politicians expected that agricultural settlers would increase land values and provide a stable population of voters. Canada West legislators wanted more British immigrants to counter-balance the French in Canada East. They also wanted room for English Canadians to expand, to prevent them from leaving for the United States.[17] Reform legislators may have felt that grateful road settlers would provide important support for the party. This motive is revealed in letters from Ebenezer Perry, road agent, to David Roblin: "you know my views on this point is get if possible the full control of the settlement that must go into the backwoods so they can be molded politically."[18]

Colonization-road advocates hoped that the same pattern of settlement that had occurred in the Front townships would also develop on the Shield. In the 1850's lumbermen were idealized as the "pioneers of civilization",[19] the first to open up wild lands and make them available for settlement. In the front, settlement had spread north from the Great Lakes following the rivers and the lumber trade. The process began with the selected cutting of the best trees for square timber. When the Front concessions began to be settled, saw mills were set up at convenient points on the major rivers and their tributaries, and the sawn lumber was hauled down trails to the lakes. Each saw mill employed from 10 to 30 men and so formed a nucleus for settlement. Homesteaders would then arrive and a grist mill would be established. Next came blacksmiths and taverns, established at focal points along the main trails. These would form the basis for crossroad villages from which roads would be opened and settlers spread through the concessions.[20] It was this model that the government hoped to encourage by building roads through the Shield. The lumbermen would benefit by better transportation routes and closer supplies. The farmers would at first have a market close at hand. Settlers would keep the roads repaired, and establish their farms and villages. Later, a permanent agricultural economy would develop and would take the place of the lumber industry.

This model had only partial success on the Shield, for it was an unfortunate fact that the settlers did not spread through the concessions and form a self-sufficient economy as was expected. Conditions were not conducive to large farming settlements. Instead of prosperous farms and well-kept fields, a pattern of isolated settlements and cut-over wastelands appeared on the Shield.

The 19th-century agrarian myth that farming provided the only opportunity for the expansion of a stable and productive population was the rationale behind the misuse of Shield resources. T.C. Keefer's optimistic expectations for progress through Shield settlement demonstrates the temper of the times,

> Nor can the day be far distant when those valleys will be filled with their teeming thousands, and the sheep and cattle on a thousand hills shall everywhere indicate peace and progress - the happy homes of a people whose mission it is to wage war only upon the rugged soil and the gloomy forest - to cause the now silent valleys to shout and sing, and to make the wilderness blossom like the rose.[21]

In the face of such a vision, it was difficult for a counter-view of the Shield as a forest region to gain much support. Some lumbermen attempted to point out that most Shield land was not fit for farming. The 1854 commission inquiring into the management of Crown lands heard much testimony adverse to full-scale agricultural settlement in the new territory. A.J. Russel's testimony was a premature voice in the wilderness, crying for conservation of the forests,

> . . . the lumber trade in the Ottawa Valley is not temporary . . . the quantity of arable land is comparatively small, much must forever remain a forest country, of which timber will continue a staple all the more valuable for its becoming scarce elsewhere.[22]

J.H. Burke, a lumberman, came out strongly against settle-ment roads,

> . . . let us not be understood to encourage the wanton, foolish, and insane Policy of the Crown Lands Department, in surveying a township where nothing but pine and rock exist, or where to keep a thousand acres of habitable land settlers may be thrown in to spread fire and havoc through the pine forests.[23]

Burke also advocated land classification with farming restricted to hardwood areas and lumbering to pine territories. Russel, Burke and others had a vision of the Shield as a long-term lumbering area with small supporting agricultural settlements. This vision, if properly understood and pursued, could have been achieved in eastern Ontario. Unfortunately, most lumbermen were concerned only with immediate profits; they gave grudging support to settlement to get their roads and the supporters of agriculture, like Keefer, counterbalanced any demands for reservation of the pine lands.

The colonization-road policy was based on hopes rather than knowledge of actual conditions. No one seemed to really understand the limited agricultural capability of the Shield. Early surveys and explorations gave contradictory reports. In 1820, Alexander Shirrif concluded that millions of acres of good land existed in the area.[24] In 1853, Alexander Murray remarked on the broken, hilly nature of the country but praised the quality of the soils in the valleys.[25] Two years earlier, surveyors of Grattan township had been less optimistic,

> A great portion of the front half of the township would be unfit for settlement on account of Rocks and Swamps. Nearly the whole of the highland and the swamps in many places have been burned over so that the little soil that was, is nearly all burned off, or rendered useless;[26]

The surveyors of Grattan also noted that any good land had already been taken up by squatters.[27] Unfortunately, no real science of land classification existed at the time,

. . . there is no general reliable rule for
judgement of this country which can be laid down
and safely depended upon. The changes of surface
and quality and kind of land and timber are often
so sudden and capricious as to perplex the most
experienced and calculating.[28]

Compounding this confusion were popular misconceptions such
as Thomas Keefer's contention that land capable of produc-
ing pine must be good for crops,[29] and the belief of Thomas
French, the Opeongo road agent, that snow fertilized the
soil.[30] The nature of the interior was not really under-
stood,

No maps in detail existed, and, in fact the geo-
logical conception of the Canadian Shield or Laur-
entian Plateau had not presented itself to anyone:
it was only known in a general way that the coun-
try to the north was rough.[31]

And so the new land was defined in the image of the agrarian
south, instead of being taken on its own terms. Coloniza-
tion-road policy and Crown Land regulations favored agri-
cultural settlement by promoting the easy alienation of
small lots of land and by failing to enforce reservation of
the pine for lumbermen. The forest was not to be protected
as a future source of supply.[32] Rather, regulations en-
couraged the quick removal of timber by doubling ground
rents after each year under licence.[33] This made the land
quickly available for agricultural settlement. The conse-
quence of these policies was the furious exploitation of the
pine as lumbermen scrambled to reap their harvest before
settlers arrived to spread "fire and havoc"[34] through the
forests. The destruction of the Shield forests took place
just as John Langton had predicted in 1862,

. . . a large portion of the new settlements in
the back country north of Lake Ontario, between
the Ottawa River and Lake Huron will prove utter-
ly worthless as the site of an agricultural pop-
ulation but the attempt to form one will in the
meantime have destroyed a mine of future wealth.[35]

Policy

The different nature of the Shield, although not fully
understood, was at least recognized by many Upper Canadians.
Settlers were loath to cross the rocky Laurentian line,
southern boundary of the Shield, and move onto the rough
country beyond. In order to attract people to the area, the
Department of Agriculture, given control of colonization
roads in 1854, followed a policy of government-built roads,
free-grant lands, and advertising in Great Britain and Eu-
rope.

The roads were designed to bring southern Ontario and
the Ottawa Valley into close contact with frontier regions.
They formed a net servicing the lumber industry and Shield
farmers. The roads were built in the years between 1853 and
Confederation,

until the country between Lake Simcoe and the Ot-
tawa, almost completely uninhabited at the begin-
ning of the period, was criss-crossed by roads
giving access to the whole area and along which
settlers had made their homes.[36]

When the net was complete, there were 13 colonization roads
in all. Seven ran north and south: the Frontenac, Addington,
Hastings, Burleigh, Bobcaygeon, Victoria and Muskoka. Six
ran east and west: the Mississippi, Monk, Peterson, Opeongo,
Pembroke and Mattawan, and Parry Sound. Branch roads were
built by settlers with the help of an improvement fund set
up for that purpose.

Most of the colonization roads had long lots of 50
acres, surveyed along their length, intended as free grants
to deserving settlers. These gift lots were regarded as a
means to the greater end of bringing in settlers willing to
buy land,

The bulk of the land in the vicinity of all of the
roads was intended to be sold . . . Throughout the
1850's, Crown Lands were considered to be a source
of revenue. Free grants were designed to attract
immigration which in turn would raise the value of

Crown Lands through which roads were run. They formed a very narrow strip and were only intended as channels to lead the stream of population to the lands which were for sale at the back of them.[37]

In order to attract more settlers, it was important to grant land only to *bona fide* farmers who would, it was hoped, stay and prosper, encouraging others to follow. Certain conditions of settlement had to be met before the land was deeded to the free-grant locatees. These conditions were spelled out in the Act of 1853 that made free grants possible,

Any person arrived at the age of 18 may obtain; gratis, a hundred acres in the free Grant districts . . . the settlement duties are to have fifteen acres on each grant of one hundred cleared and under crop, of which at least two acres are to be cleared and cultivated annually for five years; to build a habital house at least 18 x 20 feet in size, and to reside on the land at least six months in every year.[38]

Families with several members holding grants could settle next to one another and only build one house but they had to complete clearing requirements. The log house or shanty required was usually put up in a few days with the help of neighbors. Settlers were not allowed to sell their timber and could only cut pine for clearing and building purposes. An agent was assigned to each road to locate settlers and make sure they fulfilled their conditions.[39]

Information on the free-grant lands and conditions of settlements was disseminated in pamphlets and newspaper advertisements both at home and abroad. The tone of these publications was unfailingly optimistic. Vankoughnet, as Minister of Agriculture, published a typical pamphlet on the Ottawa-Huron tract in 1857, describing the excellent climate, soil, productions, potentials and institutions of the province.[40] He claimed that a population of eight million could thrive in the territory and cited investigations into an Ottawa-Georgian Bay canal and railway as proof of the government's interest in the region.[41] Pamphlets exulted over the "insatiable market for produce created by the lum-

bermen", and the timber on free grant lots, "almost always the best",[42] but failed to inform settlers that lumbermen held licences on the timber and farmers could not harvest it themselves. If these pamphlets had been grounded on a true understanding of the potential of the region, they would have been much less optimistic. A small population of part-time farmers could be supported as long as the lumber industry prevailed, but there was no possibility of teeming millions settling the Shield.

Road Building

The construction of colonization roads in the 1850's is a typical example of plans based on southern-Ontario experience being thwarted by the unfamiliar landscape of the Shield. The rectangular grid pattern was superimposed on the land with no concession to physical features. Lines often cut through the small patches of land where farming was possible. Surveys ignored factors such as drainage, river frontage, and elevation, in dividing up the area into 50-acre lots. Roads followed exploration or survey lines straight through all sorts of rough terrain. Routes were made to go over high granite mountains, sandy slopes and miles of swamp.

Topography, methods and materials combined to defeat the best efforts of the road builders.[43] Road-construction methods were primitive. First, winter roads were built. These were simple trails cut through the forest which could be used in the months when snow blanketed the rocks and stumps. Suitable only for sleighs, these roads were later improved to summer status so that wagons could travel on them. A nine-foot width was grubbed out, by removing stumps and blasting rocks. Drainage was improved, by plowing ditches at each side of the road and turning the soil to the centre to form a crown. Causeways were built of logs or corduroy laid side by side along wet areas of the road bed, producing a very bumpy but dryer surface. Here is a contemporary description of such a road,

8. *1899 Colonization road, north west Ontario, leading to Silver Mountain. Archives of Ontario.*

9. *Road cutters. Courtesy Charles Macnamara Collection, Archives of Ontario.*

To a width of 66 feet all the trees had been cut down to a height of between 2 and 3 feet, in a precisely straight course for miles, and burnt or drawn into the woods while along the centre, and winding from side to side like the course of a drunken man, a wagon track had been made by grubbing up smaller and evading the larger stumps, or by throwing a collection of small limbs and decayed wood into the deeper inequalities. Here and there, a ravine would be rendered passable by placing across it two long trunks of trees, often at a sharp angle and crossing these transversely with shorter logs; the whole covered with brushwood and earth, and dignified with the name of a "corduroy bridge". [44]

Providing adequate drainage was the worst problem. There was not enough gravel to provide proper surfaces, the soil was too thin even to ditch in some sections and under-drains were rarely constructed. Corduroy logs, even cedar, soon rotted under the traffic and continually had to be replaced. In the spring, the runoff would erode the hill sections and turn low areas into a quagmire. Corduroy bridges, poorly constructed of square piers filled with rocks and over-laid by logs, were often carried away by spring ice-break-ups. Roads were cut up by heavy loads of provisions bound for the lumber camps. J.W. Bridgeland reported in 1866 that "fully two-thirds of the benefit to be derived from our Road improvements is enjoyed by that Class of operators styled lumberers"[45] and went on to complain that the lumber industry destroyed in one season any improvements made on the roads. Under these conditions, the isolated settlers were unwilling to complete repairs by their own statute labor. No permanent improvements were made on the roads and they offered only a tenuous connection to the outside world.

Road building was, at first, contracted to private in-

dividuals who tendered for the job. Complaints of bad roads and wasted money led the Agriculture Department to put building under control of the road agent who hired local people to work on a daily basis.[46] This enabled the poorest settlers to get wages while improving conditions on their road. It was often difficult to keep day laborers on the job at planting or harvest time and this method may have been more costly.[47] However, neither form of work seemed to improve the travelling conditions appreciably. The road inspector J.W. Bridgeland's report on the Hastings is fairly typical,

> . . . from the south line of Tudor it is a very wretched affair indeed, prevalent of fathomless mud holes and pitiless pine roots . . . as far as the creek Jordan the road undulates in short broken rocky ridges, after which it becomes more level for two or three miles passing over some swampy land . . . Here naked and uneven log crossways give a kind of monotonous change from the hilly roughness to the unmitigated and ceaseless jar of the rounded log surface . . .[48]

In later years, extensive deviations were built to avoid the worst sections of colonization roads. On the Hastings road a deviation was built in 1862 to the east, through Tudor township to York Bridge, Bancroft, along the route of present-day Highway 62. This left settlers stranded on the old road and hastened its abandonment. Deviations were also completed around bad sections of the Addington and Opeongo roads.[49] However, despite detours and yearly repairs, the roads remained in wretched condition, making travel difficult and even dangerous and contributing to the isolation of Shield settlers.

Agents

In the 1850's, colonization agents were assigned to each road to encourage the growth of agricultural settlement. M.P. Hayes, Ebenezer Perry, and Thomas P. French, were given control of the Hastings, Addington and Opeongo road agencies. The duties of each man included: promoting the Ottawa-Huron tract through letters, pamphlets, and advertisements; locating free-grant settlers, giving them aid and advice, and checking on the fulfillment of their settlement duties; supervising road improvements; selling Crown lands; and reporting on the progress of settlement along their road.

The road agents' reports covering the first few years of settlement were unfailingly optimistic. They worked hard to bring in new settlers and develop the land. Unfortunately, their energy and optimism were misplaced and contributed to the hardships of settlers and the exhaustion of the landscape. Road agents refused to acknowledge the land's limitations and pushed as many settlers onto the roads as was possible, putting them on good land and bad.[50] Their glowing reports misled government officials about the true potential of the region and kept money and effort pouring into the road policy long after it should have been abandoned.[51]

The road agents were motivated by several distinct goals. They believed very strongly in the agrarian myth that progress on the Shield could only be gained by a permanent farming population.[52] The road agents were appointed by the Reform government, and they tried to bring about the fruition of that party's policy.[53] Agents desired local power; they wanted to wield patronage and they held local office.[54] They established their homes on the Shield and hoped to prosper there. Their desire for success, wealth and power was tied to the future of the roads; and they worked for that future as their own.

The agent's reports, private letters, pamphlets and official testimony reveal an odd mixture of credulity, callousness and concern about the roads and their settlers. Credulity is apparent in the misleading information they disseminated concerning the free-grant lands. Too often their hopes for progress tended to color their descriptions of the Shield's potential. In 1858, Ebenezer Perry, answering five questions concerning colonization roads for the

Bureau of Agriculture, glosses over difficulties of soil and topography and states his faith for the future of the settlement,

> . . . in ten years the rich valley of the Mada-
> waska and the no less rich tuffs or valleys that
> lie scattered among the granite range between here
> and there, will team with life and the bustle of
> commerce. The strike of the axe, the noise of the
> shuttle, and the ring of the anvil will co-mingle
> with the bellowing of the herds and the bleating
> of the flocks - villages will rise, having churches
> whose tinned steeples reflect the rays of the morn-
> ing sun. [55]

T.P. French and M.P. Hayes were equally prone to over-optimistic and misleading statements. [56] The agents were callous in their disregard of bad conditions and their insistence on settling land they knew was poor. French reported that neither the Poles nor the British army-pensioners were "particularly fortunate" in their choice of land but never explained why he allowed this to happen. [57] Ebenezer Perry is more revealing in his private correspondence with David Roblin, M.L.A. for Lennox County. Perry sometimes gives the impression of regarding his settlers as livestock, good "specimens" for the colony. [58] He makes no attempt to disguise the fact that the first 15 miles of the Addington is poor land, "totally unfit for sale", and goes on to say that "lumbermen have stripped it of pine, so what is left is some small hardwood patches of land and granite rocks". [59] Despite such conditions Perry was anxious to locate farmers on this stretch of road, "it is time that we had as many settlers on that desolate range as possible to make things look less lonesome." [60] All three agents persisted in trying to re-locate new settlers on lots already abandoned as useless by first-comers; they were more sanguine of results than the farmers who actually tried the land. Along with this apparent callousness, there was a genuine concern for the settler's welfare. Once the farmers were located, the agent did everything in his power to help them. In years of bad harvest, agents pleaded for money from the government to

10.   "Stretching into the wilderness" - Kennelly's Mountain, south of Mount St. Patrick.   Summer 1976.

employ settlers on road work. They pressured local politicians, Crown Land and agriculture officials for road improvements and extensions, for stage coaches, post offices and mills. They dedicated time and energy to the settlers, offering advice, solving disputes and making friends.

The agents were neither villains nor fools, but hardworking men caught up in a vision of the future for the Shield, the settlers and themselves. They devoted years in the attempt to make it happen. They stayed on even after their salaries were cut and support denied them, when the roads were transferred back to the Crown Lands Department in 1862. Their efforts were greatly appreciated by road settlers who expressed genuine sorrow when the agents were finally forced to leave. The residents of Hastings road gave a testimonial dinner for Hayes in 1866 when he resigned, and he was praised,

> His kindness and courtesy in private life, his integrity in everything, endeared himself to all with whom he came into contact. In his intercourse with the settlers, he found his way to the hearts of the most untutored, while to those better educated, he was an acquisition all disliked to relinquish. [61]

The road agents failed to fill up the back country with millions of inhabitants. Instead of realizing what this failure really meant, that the Shield was capable of supporting only a minimum of part-time farmers, they persisted in the belief that all could have been possible. They blamed the failure of the scheme on the government's refusal to back them whole-heartedly with funds, more roads and surveys. Hayes was disappointed that the back townships were not opened up for sale soon enough,

> . . . the favorable time had been allowed to slip. It was not until 1860 that these lands were ready for sale, and by that time the people who had come in here in '56, '57, and '58 intending to settle, had found other locations, most of them in another country, and our free grant settlers were left in

a long extended line, stretching into the wilderness, without the aid and support of neighborhood which the settlement on the townships would have afforded. [62]

These roads, "stretching into the wilderness", intended as channels for millions, became isolated lines of settlement. The south was not reproduced on the Shield but remnants of the attempt still remind us of the agents and their settlers.

11. *Shanty on the Opeongo road. Courtesy Charles Macnamara Collection, Archives of Ontario.*

First Years on the Roads 1854 - 1860

Colonization was rapid; almost all the free-grant lots on the Opeongo, Addington and the Hastings were taken up in the years between 1854 and 1860. It is likely that the

roads attracted impecunious settlers who were drawn by the promised 100 acres. [63] The Opeongo was settled mainly by Irish immigrants who had been residing in the province for a few years. [64] The western section of the road received an influx of Polish settlers in 1858, fleeing political oppression and economic hardship in their homeland. [65] The first settlers to arrive on the Addington were from Upper Canada; groups from Leeds County moved into Abinger township and from Prince Edward County into the Denbigh area. [66] Later, German immigrants settled in Denbigh and Lyndoch townships. The Hastings road was colonized mainly by Upper-Canadians with a significant Irish element. [67] Information from the census rolls for 1861 shows some differences between the Hastings road settlers and their counterparts in Opeongo townships. The Hastings road had a higher proportion of young single men, while Sebastopol and Grattan had more families. [68] Hastings road shows a higher proportion of males to females and has more non-family resident males. [69] A majority of those replying to the questions called themselves lumberman on the Hastings, while a majority called themselves farmer in Grattan and Sebastopol. [70] Only a tentative interpretation of this information can be given; much more research is required into the census data. It is possible that many shantymen took up lots along the Hastings road, intending to farm later. However, there were shanties operating in Sebastopol and these men were also included in the census. The lack of families and higher proportion of young men on the Hastings road suggests a more transitory population, many of whom may have intended to sell the timber from their lots and then move on.

Road settlers' choice of land does not seem to have been influenced by knowledge of good soil conditions, since almost all the lots on each road, comprising good and bad land, were taken up. Perhaps other motives were more important. Families or groups from a single township would settle together along the roads. A good example of this is the O'Grady settlement which grew up around the homes of seven brothers. Coming up the Opeongo from Carleton County in 1859, the O'Grady brothers settled together in Hagarty township just north of the road. [71] In the same way, Scotch

12. *An abandoned farm, Esmonde - Opeongo road.*

and German settlements grew up around similar racial collections. Ethnic groups tended to stick together on the roads; immigrants were attracted to areas that looked like home. The Poles of Kashubs chose land in Sherwood, Hagarty, Richards, Jones, and Burns townships,

> . . . the land that the Kashubs settled on was full of stones, "enough to build many walls of China". It is possible that better farm land was available but the Kashubs themselves chose certain areas since they reminded them of their homeland. [72]

The settlers were located on good and bad land, blanketing the road pattern. What followed next was a testing that winnowed the *bona fide* settlers and the better land. G.A. Hill has described this process,

13. A land "full of stones." Newfoundout, south of the Opeongo road.

Land was plentiful and if one location did not permit of exploitation after the timber was gone, it could readily be abandoned in favour of another. In this way the pioneer fringe was pushed ever westward and northward, leaving in its train many abandoned and partially developed farmlands.[73]

Abandonment was in evidence from the very beginning, for two reasons. Phony settlers soon succeeded or failed in selling the pine from their lots and left for new territories. *Bona fide* settlers placed on poor land, rock or swamp were compelled to abandon their clearances, and the land was so marginal that few bothered to try and establish new farms on better locations. The settlers were forced to leave in bitterness and despair, some were ruined; their capital gone, they returned to work in the farms and cities of the Front, or emigrated to America.

Abandoned farms created holes in the net of colonization roads; some sections of road, such as the southern portions of the Hastings and Addington, were discarded completely and new routes north had to be built. Where the soil was better and the settler determined, a subsistence or part-time farm could be established. In more favorable areas, such as Gratton and Faraday townships, settlers spread out and branch roads extended the network of settlement.

Footnotes

1. Rolph recommended the colonization-road policy in 1853, George W. Spragge, "Colonization Roads in Canada West, 1850-1867," Ontario History, Vol. XLIX, 1957, No. 1, pp. 4-5.

   Vankoughnet announced the decision in 1854, (Sessional Papers of Canada, 1854 Report of the Commission of Crown Lands published 1855) he became the Minister of Agriculture soon afterward.

2. Keith Parker, "Colonization Roads and Commercial Policy," Ontario History, March 1975, p.33.

3. Ibid. "The "Toronto Line" was opened in 1849 from Chatsworth to Shelburne. The Durham Road was cut out some time before 1853 between Lake Huron and Kincardine and the Owen Sound Road. The Elora and Saugeen Road, completed in 1855, ran northwest and then north from Elora to Southampton. All of these roads gave connection with older ones leading to Toronto or London."

4. G.W. Spragge, op. cit., p. 5.

5. R.L. Jones, op. cit., p. 292.

6. Keith Parker, op. cit., p. 33.

7. R.L. Jones, (op. cit., p. 292) suggests this,

   When the Crown Land Department came to lay out the Opeongo, John Egan prevailed on it to open up the eastern section for settlement . . . As a result, the quondom bush trails became colonization roads, in order that the plan tentatively applied to the lower Opeongo road might be extended throughout much of the Ottawa-Huron country.

   based on a Bytown Packet article, August 17, 1850.

8. See J.H. Burke, A.J. Russell, Allan Gilmor, and others in the "Committee on the Management of Public Lands, 1854", Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1855, Appendix MM.

9. Vankoughnet compared the region to the New England states and claimed it was capable of supporting a population of eight million. (Sessional Papers of Canada, 1857, Appendix 54.)

10. J.H.B. Richards, "Lands and Policies . . .," op. cit., p. 202.

11. Keith Parker, op. cit.

12. Arthur R.M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier
    in Eastern Canada, Vol. IV, Canadian Frontiers of Set-
    tlement, MacMillan Press, Toronto, 1936, p. 50.

13. David Roblin's testimony in the Committee of 1854,
    op. cit.

14. Land Settlement in Upper Canada 1783-1840, 16th Report
    of the Ontario Bureau of Archives, 1920, p. 183.

15. G.W. Spragge, op. cit., p. 3.

16. Michael Cross, The History of Roads in Ontario, Depart-
    ment of Highways, 1967, pp. 27-28.

17. Lillian Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada, Canadian
    Studies in History and Government #9, University of
    Toronto Press, 1968, p. 258.

18. The Roblin Papers in the Lennox and Addington Histori-
    cal Society Collection, Napanee Museum, Ebenezer Perry
    to David Roblin, 25 May 1855.

19. Edwin C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, Ontario
    Publishing Co., Toronto, 1933, p. 239.

20. Moira Valley Conservation Report, Department of Plan-
    ning and Development, Toronto, 1950, pp. 48-49.

21. Colonization Road Papers, Public Archives of Ontario,
    Keefer's speech of 1854 is quoted in newspaper clipping
    from the Ottawa Times, 14 Jan. 1870, in letter #13.

22. See A.J. Russell's testimony before the Committee of
    1854, op. cit.

23. J.H. Burke's testimony, ibid.

24. Isobel Jost, "New Documentation on the Settlement of
    the Western Part of the Ottawa-Opeongo Colonization
    Road," Revue de l'Universite d'Ottawa, XLIV, 4, 1974.

25. Florence B. Murray, Muskoka and Haliburton 1615-1875
    A Collection of Documents, Toronto, The Champlain So-
    ciety for the Government of Ontario, 1963, p. 26.

26. John Booth, "Survey of the Front 8 Concessions in Grat-
    tan-Field Notes, 1851," Ministry of Natural Resources,
    Surveys and Mapping Branch, Toronto.

27. Ibid., see also R. Hamilton, "Survey of 9th to 25th
    Concessions, Grattan township, 1853, Field Notes,"
    op. cit.

28. Colonization Road Papers, op. cit., 1868, an undated
    letter.

29. See Keefer's testimony before the Committee of 1854,
    op. cit.

30. T.P. French wrote a pamphlet for the Ottawa and Opeongo
    Road, 1857, (Canada Sessional Papers),

    > The climate throughout these districts is
    > essentially good. The snow does not fall so
    > deep as to obstruct communications; and it
    > affords material for good roads during the
    > winter . . . and this covering to the earth,
    > not only facilitates communications with the
    > more settled parts of the district but is
    > highly beneficial and fertilizing to the
    > soil.

31. A.R.M. Lower, op. cit., p. 50.

32. The History of Crown Timber Regulations, op. cit.,
    p. 205.

33. See Alan Gilmor's testimony for the Committee of 1854, op. cit.

34. J.H. Burke quoted in The History of Crown Timber Regulations, op. cit., p. 224.

35. John Langton quoted in A.R.M. Lower, op. cit., p. 56.

36. G.W. Spragge, op. cit., p. 9.

37. Keith Parker, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

38. J.H.B. Richards, "Land Use and Settlement Patterns . .," op. cit., p. 108.

39. For an examination of road agents see the section "Agents" above, in this chapter.

40. Keith Parker, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

41. G.W. Spragge, op. cit., p. 7.

42. Ibid.

43. Information on road building is scattered throughout the the Colonization Road Papers, op. cit.

44. Samuel Thompson, Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer, Hunter and Ross, Toronto, 1884, p. 47.

45. Colonization Road Papers, op. cit., J. W. Bridgeland to Alex Campbell, Ottawa, 16 November 1866.

46. R.L. Jones, op. cit., p. 292.

47. Florence B. Murray, op. cit., p. 30.

48. J.W. Bridgeland's report is in the Colonization Road Papers and is quoted here from Michael Levenston, The Hastings Road, A Story, Road to the Wilderness, Crowe Valley Conservation Authority report, Havelock, 1975.

49. For more information on the history of road building see Appendix #2.

50. See A.R.M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier, op. cit., p. 52, commenting on the agents' reports,

> There is evidence on every page of the eagerness to keep the population growing at the rates of the preceeding years by pushing the new arrivals out onto whatever tracts of land happen to have been surveyed in the hopes that somehow or other they will stick there and build their homes.

51. Keith Parker makes this point in "Colonization Roads and Commercial Policy," op. cit., p. 37.

> . . . the government, kept in ignorance of the true state of affairs by the optimistic reports of its land agents and surveyors, remained smugly confident of the ultimate success of its policy.

52. Michael Levenston, op. cit., quotes M.P. Hayes, who reconfirms his bias for agricultural settlement in his farewell speech to the Hastings Road pioneers,

> When I took on the land service ten years ago it was because I felt I had some of the qualities that render a man fit for the work. I felt the greatest enthusiasm for a cause which I then and now consider to be the greatest cause of our country, its advancement and settlement.

"Settlement" refers to farming settlement. All the agents consistently sided with the farmers against the lumbermen on issues of road repairs and ownership of timber. Ebenezer Perry ran for the office of Member of Parliament in 1871 on a platform of support for the backwoods settlers against the lumbermen. (Roblin Papers, op. cit., E. Perry to John Stevenson, 9 March 1871). He lost.

53. G.W. Spragge, op. cit., p. 13, suggests a relationship between agents' reports and politics,

> These reports which proved to be decidedly over-optimistic, may have been due to the fact that the agents understandably wished it thought that their work was satisfactory, or they may have been encouraged to send such reports because it was known that the Bureau of Agriculture was inefficient.

The Bureau of Agriculture was created under a Reform government, and headed by ex-rebels like John Rolph and David Gibson. T.P. French revealed his loyalty to the Reform government's road policy in his "surprise" at conditions in 1858, (Crown Lands Report for 1858),

> . . . the rapidity with which the wild lands in the vicinity of the Opeongo are being settled upon, surprises me more than I can express . . . (this proves) the usefulness of the road and the shortsightedness of those who originally condemned the project of making it.

Ebenezer Perry's loyalty to the government was confirmed in 1868 by his friend, J. Stevenson who writes the Commissioner of Crown Lands telling him that Perry ". . . is a strong friend, and always has been." (Roblin Papers, op. cit., 21 Sept. 1868)

54. T.P. French was elected the first reeve of Sebastopol and Griffith and was the first warden of Renfrew County, serving three consecutive terms. Brennan, Giesebrecht, Meehan, Sandrelli, The Ottawa and Opeongo Road, report for the Renfrew separate school board, 1975, p. 16, from a newspaper clipping by Harry J. Walker, Ottawa Valley Historian.

Ebenezer Perry lost his wardenship of Earnestown by two votes in 1858 and exploded against the "Tories, Orangemen, and bigots, on the reeves council" (Roblin Papers, op. cit., E. Perry to David Roblin, 7 January 1858)

55. Walter S. Herrington, History of the County of Lennox and Addington, Mike reprint edition, Belleville, 1972, pp. 336-340.

56. T.P. French wrote a pamphlet describing the road area,

> The soil . . . is a sandy loam, in some places light but in others deep and rich. The country presents a rather hilly aspect but by far the larger proportion is composed of gently undulating and flat lands. Few of the very highest hills are incapable of cultivation, and it is strange that the best soil is not infrequently found on their summits.

Brenda Lee Whiting, "The Opeongo Road, an Early Colonization Scheme," The Canadian Geographical Journal, March, 1967, p. 79.

M.P. Hayes testified at the 1864 Committee on Public Lands that in the townships drained by the Ottawa River in northern Hastings County, ". . . the soil is also deep and mellow, consisting chiefly of a rich sandy loam with vegetable mould."

Annual Report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands for 1864, Appendix 8.

57. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Crown Lands published 1862, 1863.

58. Roblin Papers, op. cit., E. Perry to D. Roblin, 1 May 1858,

> I have four settlers out from Ireland this Spring and at work bravely . . . the finest looking family that I ever saw . . . and I have some fine Specimens from England . . .

59. *Ibid.*, E. Perry to D. Roblin, 19 March 1857.

60. *Ibid.*, E. Perry to D. Roblin, 9 December 1856.

61. Michael Levenston, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

63. Keith Parker, op. cit., pp. 34-37. Parker states that the majority of settlers were farmers from Upper Canada, some wanted larger farms, some wanted to sell the timber from their lots.

64. Canadian Census, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, personal information on township rolls Grattan, 1851, 1861, 1871, Sebastopol and Griffith 1861, Sebastopol 1871, Brudenell 1871, Public Archives of Canada.

65. Henry Radecki, Benedykt Heydenkorn, *Generations: A History of Canada's People, A Member of a Distinguished Family, The Polish Group in Canada*, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, p. 21.

66. Paul Stein, "A Story of the Rear of Addington County," Lennox and Addington Historical Society Papers, Napanee, Museum.

67. Canadian Census, personal information, Hastings Road 1861, Public Archives of Canada.

68. Information for this section is from the Canadian Census, 1861, on the Hastings road, 30% of the total population of 676 was in the 21-30 age group, compared to 23% for Sebastopol and Griffith townships (pop. 590) and 17% for Grattan (pop. 1253, settled since 1820).

    Percentage figures were obtained from aggregates compiled from original census rolls for the Hastings road and Renfrew townships. Totalling this information is a time-consuming process, and only a few rolls could receive this treatment. Grattan was first settled by squatters in the 1820's and so was more developed agriculturally, than Griffith and Sebastopol, settled primarily by the Opeongo road in the 1850's.

69. Hastings road had 66% male population while Sebastopol and Griffith had 58% males, and Grattan had 53% males. The Hastings shows a larger proportion of non-family resident males (i.e. boarders) 22% in Hastings, 16% in Sebastopol and Griffith, and 11% in Grattan. Finally Hastings road had a smaller proportion of children (0-20 years) only 45%, compared to 53% for Sebastopol and Griffith and 60% for Gratton.

70. On the Hastings road, 52% of those who replied were lumbermen, and 41% were farmers. In Sebastopol and Griffith 46% were farmers, 32% were lumbermen, 16% were laborers and 6% had other occupations. In Grattan 45% were farmers, 34% were laborers, 16% had other occupations and only 5% were lumbermen.

71. Brenda Lee Whiting, "The End of the O'Grady Settlement," *The Eganville Leader*, January 2, 1975.

72. H. Radecki, *op. cit.*

73. G.A. Hills, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

14. O'Connor farm house on the old Opeongo road near Renfrew, Ontario. Public Archives of Canada.

The Best Years 1860 - 1890

Stability

The boom years of colonization-road settlement occurred between 1860 and 1890. However, historians view the scheme as a failure from the beginning. Keith Parker's evaluation is typical. He states that after the 1860's,

> New settlers no longer appeared to take up
> grants, older ones abandoned their clear-
> ances, and in certain localities it was only
> a question of time until the region was to-
> tally abandoned. [1]

This implies failure of the policy soon after the roads were completed. Actually, farm settlement did take hold. Although population figures never reached the overoptimistic heights expected by government planners, they remained stable or rose throughout this period. [2] Abandonment of poor land was a constant factor; but people stayed on better land, and raised large families. A few immigrants also continued to trickle in, settling near compatriots along the roads. [3]

There is evidence that demonstrates a genuine attempt, on the part of the settlers, to establish homes on the Shield. This is contrary to the opinion of some historians that all settlers in this region were trying to profit from their timber and move on. [4] The census rolls from 1851 to 1891 reveal a trend towards permanent settlement. [5] They show fewer shantymen or lumbermen and more farmers in the 1870's than the 50's and 60's and later appears a greater variety of occupations: blacksmiths, millers, masons, coopers, weavers, shoemakers, school teachers, doctors, etc. This diversification seemed developed to service what was promising to become a permanent agricultural population. Demographic data indicates a drop in the number of young unmarried men, usually transient lumber workers, and larger families by the

15. *Structure built in same style as first shanty house, on Bark Lake deviation of Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.*

1870's.

The census shows a replacement of the first shanty home with more substantial log or frame houses by almost all the settlers. In the 1870's and 80's there is a rise in the number of commercial establishments; stores, shops, warehouses, factories, mills, potasheries, etc. are listed. Agricultural returns show a rise in the percentage of improved land. It is obvious that farmers still depended on the shanty market for a livelihood; they continued to concentrate on raising hay and oats. However, a rise in totals for kitchen gardens and orchards shows an attempt to gain self sufficiency. It seems as if they meant to stay.

This was the time of village development on the Shield. Villages were usually situated in better farming areas or

16. *A typical "second" log home, Addington road near Denbigh. Summer 1976.*

at important cross-roads. The stopping-place became a focus for settlement, as did the saw and grist mill. Stopping-places or shantymen's hotels were usually situated along the colonization roads at ten-mile intervals to provide lodging at the end of a day's journey. They often had a blacksmith, and large barns for stabling teams of horses. Grist and saw mills were situated at good water-power sites. Their location sometimes coincided with main roads, such as Bancroft and Denbigh, but were often reached by a branch line, such as Balaclava and Flinton. Around these nodes, villages would develop, with a post office, general store, school and chapel. In the late 1870's and early 80's, the first substantial stone or log churches were built and many still exist today. Villages served the shantymen and local farmers at a time when transportation was slow and treach-

erous. Towns on the edge of the Shield also profited from its settlement. Renfrew and Madoc were both centres of supply, service and manufacturing for the agricultural hinterland.

The Experience of Settlement

Although it was only a hundred years ago, the Shield-settler's elemental life is so remote from our protected existence that we can scarcely imagine how it was. The farmers lived a step away from failure, surviving on the edge of civilization in an ungenerous landscape. Harsh weather, a poor harvest, a forest fire or an accident could mean the end for a marginal venture and the departure of a family. Still some people stayed, despite adverse conditions and the inevitable trials of tedious work and lonely isolation.

The first years of settlement provided a hard test; usually it was then that poor land was abandoned and irresolute settlers gave up. The initial task of the farmer was to chop out a clearing and build a shanty. The underbrush was removed with an axe or bill-hook, a long handled implement used with both hands to cut down small saplings and underwood. Next the trees were cut down; a triangular chip was taken out on one side in the direction the tree was to fall and then it was chopped through from the other side. The fallen giants were chopped into 14-foot lengths and burned for potash. [6] Underbrushing was fatiguing work but chopping was downright dangerous; a tree could thrust out at the wrong angle during its fall and kill the chopper instantly. [7] Immigrants were unfamiliar with clearing methods and often had to hire out to local settlers for a year or two to learn the ropes and make some money. Such was the case of the Poles in Renfrew county,

When they arrived here however, they found they had yet much to learn, before they could venture with but little means upon uncleared lands, and consequently they and their children hired out

as servants ... By this means they have succeeded in acquiring a partial knowledge of the English language, and also the experience necessary to enable them to use the axe with some affect and to become permanent and in time prosperous settlers themselves. 8

These difficulties of the first years were often mitigated by the help and support of neighbors. The Canadian tradition of building-bees, settlers gathering in co-operative and unpaid effort to help complete the hardest tasks of building and clearing, was continued along the colonization roads. The settler often built his first house or shanty with such help. The shanty was a rough dwelling put up quickly with materials close at hand, and was exactly like those first dwellings of earlier Upper-Canadian settlers. This first house was made of roughly-notched logs placed together to form walls about six feet high. Rafters were put in place to create a flat roof with a slight incline. The roof was constructed of hollowed logs placed to overlap like tiles, to keep out the weather. 9 A door was cut into one wall and the logs were chinked with moss or plastered with lime, if there was any nearby that could be burned or slaked. This uncomfortable dwelling was the only home of the settler until he could collect large timbers and shingles to put up a second house!

The first crops were sown among the stumps left in settler's clearings. Those who had oxen could sow the seed grain using a wooden A-shaped drag with 12 square-iron teeth. This implement was pulled over the ground by the oxen while the farmer kept well back at the end of long lead reins to avoid the kick of the drag. 10 Settlers with wild hay in beaver meadows could harvest that as their first crop. Wheat, barley, oats, buckwheat, potatoes and turnips were common crops. Pigs were raised for meat and sheep for wool. Food was supplemented with wild berries and fresh game.

Harvesting was a most onerous and time-consuming job. 11 At first wheat had to be cut by hand with a sickle and the grain gathered and bound into sheaves. During the period from 1860 to 1890, the sickle was replaced by the cradle which had fingers to carry the grain around to the left side and lay it in a swath. 12 This made gathering and binding much easier and needed fewer men to do the work. Threshing was usually done in the winter. The wheat was laid on the barn floor and flailed by hand to separate the grain from the straw. It was a long, cold and hard job. Improved machinery was slow in coming to the Shield and did not appear until the 1880's. 13 It was difficult to use harvesting machines on the small hilly fields, broken up by stone fences and stumps. Threshing machines were sometimes purchased by a group of settlers and taken from one farm to another. Fanning mills to separate wheat from chaff also came into use at this time. 14

On Shield farms, where yields were small, it was difficult to get extra cash. The men would often work during winter months in the lumber camps, leaving their women alone to run the farm and care for the children. These farmers were often hired out as teamsters, the elite of the camp, who drove the horses that dragged lumber to the river's edge. 15 Teamsters were not needed for the lumber drive in the spring and could go home that much earlier. Farm wives would set up looms at home and weave for local settlers. 16 The women often made potash by burning trees and leaching lye from the ashes, which was sold by the barrel for seven pounds sterling. 17 Surplus maple sugar could also be sold. Some farmers ran trap-lines in later years to make extra money. 18 With the withdrawal of the lumber industry after the 1890's a switch was made to dairy farming and many cheese factories were established in the road area. However, this could not take the place of the lumber industry, the real life-blood of the Shield farmer. The lumber industry provided the only market for his grain and fresh vegetables; there was nothing to replace it.

Even before the lumber industry withdrew, the Shield farmer had to face a myriad of difficulties. Once the trees were cut, he found thin and stony soil underneath. Glacial till, ranging in size from pebbles to boulders, had to be removed. Clearing decent fields of stumps and boul-

17. *Cradling grain. Courtesy of Mr. Roy Valliquette.*

18. *Technical developments - a potato harvester, Davidson Century Farm.*

ders often took years. The climate was harsh and uncompromising, making farming an uncertain occupation. In 1858, a wet spring rotted the seeds and an early frost ruined the harvest.[19] In 1862, the combination of drought and frost defeated many settlers.[20] If the weather was good then the insects were bad. Clouds of mosquitoes and blackflies forced settlers to wear long sleeves and light smudge fires, until August brought relief.

Among all the problems faced by Shield farmers, their roads rank as one of the worst. The roads were a life-line needed to bring supplies, seed and flour, and to take farm produce to shanty and town markets. These life-lines were the bane of road-settlers' existence. They were so rough and dangerous that many people hesitated to use them. The roads were indispensible yet unusable, and frustrated settlers wrote dozens of petitions to government officials

begging for improvements and new routes. For example, in 1864 the settlers of Grattan, Algoma, Wilberforce, Brudenell and Sebastopol asked for a new road from Brudenell to Eganville. The settlers complained of "the difficulties, hardships, and inconveniences we have laboured under for the want of even passable roads for the conveyance of our product to market."[21] The settlers' great desire for the success of colonization-road policy is evident in their disappointment at the "departure of many intending settlers"[22] upon viewing the Opeongo "with its sterile lands, rocky passes, and the Sebastopol Mountain beyond Clontarf which is almost impassable."[23] Road settlers believed in the agrarian myth just as devoutly as the government officials who initiated road policy. The settlers of McClure township on the Hastings road saw themselves as pioneers of civilization who deserved better roads, and they threatened to

"leave our Patented Lands and go elsewhere for a living" [24] unless they got what they wanted.

Many settlers did leave but more remained. They grouped together on the roads to combat isolation and provide assistance to one another. They planted their orchards, raised their stock and attempted to gain a measure of self-sufficiency. What they could not transport or make they did without. If there was no saw mill in the vicinity, they would hand-cut floor and wall boards with an adze. [25] They made their own furniture. They spun and wove their wool into cloth, made their own soap and candles. They even did without doctors, using home remedies concocted from local herbs and roots.[26] They did without the comfort and certainty of more civilized territories. As one local settler put it, rather fatalistically, "you must make up your mind that if you are to live, you'll live, and if you die you die." [27]

Those settlers who stayed built substantial log homes to replace the first shanties. These were made from huge square-timber logs, carefully fitted together with dovetail notches. Roofs were peaked to provide an extra half-storey and shingled with cedar shakes. If sawn lumber was available, it was used to cover the house inside and out. Over the years the farmer would add to his collection of small log barns, sometimes building them in rows to give better insulation.

Settlers got together to build schools and churches. Wollaston township provides a typical example of the organization for a church building-bee,

> In September 1875 a meeting was held to plan the building of a church. George D. McKay was a missionary attending this meeting. The minutes of this meeting show the business-like manner of these early settlers. Land was donated by James McGregor. Each member present agreed to furnish three pieces of timber for the log building, to be not less than sixteen inches at the top end. Mortin's mill at St. Ola appears to have been

19. *Interior, Bark Lake Post Office.*

the closest mill and the sawn lumber used in the church was obtained there. [28]

Religion was a mainstay for the road settler and the log church was the focus for many communities. The local clergymen provided valued spiritual comfort to the humble and hard-working settlers. Religious and cultural affinities added to community spirit and energy. Religious beliefs sometimes caused animosities between settlers; how-
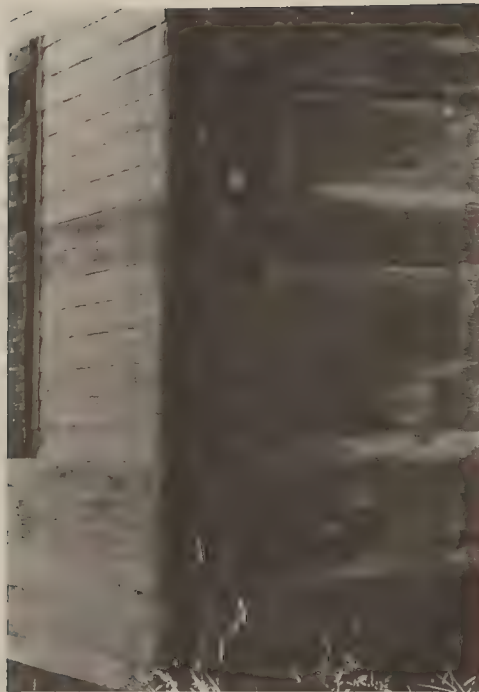
20. *Dovetail notching once covered by ship lap.*

21. *A row of attached barns.*

ever, ethnic and political differences could just as easily promote contention,[29] and the road settlers were no worse on these issues than their fellow citizens in more civilized areas. Confrontation was avoided in a territory where good neighbors were often valued above good land.

Road settlers' social life was primitive and lively. Gatherings for work usually ended with play and the workers would dance far into the night. Shield settlers were a part of the Ottawa Valley folk-culture, a heady mixture of Irish and French-Canadian lyricism, rowdiness and sentiment.[30] It was a male-dominated culture centering on the lumber industry, with its fighting, drinking and feats of strength. The culture was celebrated in story and song, and a social gathering was not complete without long-winded tales of daring exploits and tragic come-all-ye's to entertain the guests.[31]

The road settlers who remained throughout the 1860 – 1890 period were rewarded with good markets and tidy homes for their large families. They built their churches and schools and developed closely-knit communities, expecting to stay and prosper. They experienced the pride that endurance and ownership can bring.

22. *Farmstead near Hardwood Lake.*

23. *Roundhouse, Madawaska.*

Railways

In the 1880's and 90's, railroads were built through the Shield to serve the lumber and mining industries. They proved to be both a help and a hindrance to colonization-road settlers. Railways were used to ship farm supplies north to the shanties and they provided important communication links with the outside world. Colonization roads, by-passed by the railroads, suffered an immediate decline as transportation and service roads. In Hastings County, the central Ontario railway ran east of the old colonization road but served the villages of Eldorado, Bannockburn and Millbridge. This railroad reached L'Amable and Bancroft (York Bridge) in 1900 and contributed to their growth as

service towns. [32] In Renfrew County, J. R. Booth's Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound railway ran north of the Opeongo road and superseded it as a route to the shanties, causing a decline in traffic that spelt doom to stopping-places along the road. Booth's railway stimulated settlement at Killaloe station, Barry's Bay, Madawaska and Whitney. Railroads, intended to help the lumber industry, did benefit the farmer but did not prevent the abandonment of farming that came after 1890.

Footnotes

1. Keith A. Parker, "Colonization Roads and Commercial Policy," Ontario History, p.37.

2. The Census of Canada, Vol. 1, with aggregate information for each ten-year period from 1871 to 1921, breaks down population figures into townships. Most Shield townships served by the colonization roads show peak population reached in 1891 or later. These printed volumes also give breakdowns for dwelling places, families, male/female, married/single, children and unmarried. The 1901 volume gives national origin of settlers.

3. In the 1890's, 250 Kashub families settled near Wilno, recruited in Poland by the Wilno parish priest, H. Radecki, op. cit., p.21.

4. R. L. Jones, op. cit., p.295, Keith Parker, op. cit., p.35.

5. The following section is based on aggregate census information 1871 - 1921 as well as detailed examination of actual tax rolls for Grattan township - 1851, 1861, 1871, Sebastopol and Griffith 1861, Sebastopol 1871, and Hastings road 1861. These tax rolls are a mine of information for the historian. Unfortunately it takes many months to correlate personal data, consequently this paper deals only with totals and percentages.

6. Samuel Thompson, Reminiscences of a Canadian Pioneer, Hunter and Ross, Toronto, 1884, p.53.

7. This was the sad fate of Mary who "would yield to none of the new settlers in the dexterity with which she would fell, brush, and cut up maple or beech, "Samuel Thompson, quoted by W. L. Smith, The Pioneers of Old Ontario, George N. Morang, Toronto, 1923, p.121.

8. T. P. French, quoted by Isobel Jost, op. cit., p.447.

9. Mrs. Thomas Ham, "History of Limerick," in the Hastings County Historical Society Collection, Corby Library, Belleville. Also see Edwin C. Guillet, Early Life in Upper Canada, op. cit., p.157.

10. Austin Legree, "Griffith Township," Ottawa Valley Historical Society Collection, Public Archives of Canada.

11. D. A. Laur, "The Development of Ontario Farming 1870 - 1914," Ontario History, Vol.64, 1972.

12. Mrs. Thomas Ham, op. cit.

13. D. A. Laur, op. cit.

14. Canadian Census, Agricultural data for Grattan Township 1881, Public Archives of Canada.

15. A.R.M. Lower, Settlement and the Forest Frontier, op. cit., p.45.

16. Canadian Census, Grattan, 1881, Public Archives of Canada.

17. Brenda Lee Whiting, "The Opeongo Road," op. cit., p.78.

18. Ibid.

19. Annual Report to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 1858 published 1859.

20. Colonization Road Papers, #407, February 1864, petition requesting that settlers be given day labour on the roads "to obtain means to procure provision made necessary by the destruction of their crops through drought and frost in 1862," Public Archives of Ontario.

21. Colonization Road Papers, Petition to Charles Stanley Monk, Governor General, September 1864, op. cit.

22. Ibid.

23. _Ibid._

24. Colonization Road Papers, Robert Elliot to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, 24 July 1868, _op. cit._

25. A beautiful example of this craft is found in the Bark Lake post office described in the Case Studies section of this report. See illustration.

26. Darius King Card, _McClure Heritage_, Picton Gazette Publishing Co. Ltd., 1966.

27. Louis Tivy, _Your Loving Anna, Letters from the Ontario Frontier_, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1972, p.26.

28. A. G. Giles, "History of Wollaston," 9 March 1955, Hastings County Historical Society Collection, _op. cit._

29. See the Battle of Brudenell episode in Appendix #2, 1872.

30. _Historical Review and Official Program of Eganville and District Old Home Week_, ed. Violet Krohn Brasch, Old Home Week Committee 1948, p.97.

31. A come-all-ye is a song that begins with a line such as: "Come all ye gallant heros, and listen while I sing," and proceeds to tell a tale of heroism and sometimes of death. See "Young Conroy" a come-all-ye about an Irish man killed at a Polish wedding in Edith Fulton Fowke, _Lumbering Songs from the Northern Woods_, Texas Press, 1970.

32. J.H.B. Richards, "Population and the Economic Base ...," _op. cit._, p.29.

Decline

Seeds of Failure

The period from 1860 to 1890 was the time of the roads' greatest success in serving the shanties and agricultural settlers; however, problems already existed that would lead to the decline of these settlements. The Shield's saturation point of population was very low. Most townships would support no more than a few hundred people.[1] Yet in the 1860's, the government tried to attract more settlers to the region with the Free Grant and Homesteads Act designed to give away lands back from the roads, that the Crown Lands Department had been unable to sell. This policy was pursued despite warnings voiced by the Committee of 1864, held to examine lumbering and settlement on the Shield.[2] In that committee, many complaints were heard against phony settlers taking up land that was good for pine and bad for farming. There was strong emphasis on the need for classification of land into farming and lumbering districts.

> It appears from the evidence that settlement
> has been unreasonably pushed in some localities
> quite unfit to become the permanent residence of
> an agricultural population. Especially this has
> been the case in some of the Free Grant roads and
> adjacent country ... The government should ... ascertain positively the character of the country
> before throwing open any tract of land for settlement.[3]

It was a disturbing picture, but the Crown Lands Department still desired to colonize the Shield, with agricultural settlers and lumbermen still agreed to _bona fide_ settlement.[4] A proviso for the reservation of timber and mineral lands in the Free Grant and Homesteads Act paid lip service only to the demands for land classification. The Crown Lands Department never attempted to delineate such areas but opened all land for settlement. Colonization

24. *Abandoned barn, Kennelly's Mountain.*

roads were improved and extended, as a part of this push for new settlement, and the area was advertised in Canada and Great Britain. These inducements were of no avail. Only a few new settlers arrived to take up locations and most of them left within a few years, often failing to complete their settlement duties. [5] The Shield could not even be given away to farmers, when better lands were available in the American west.

Within a few years of the Homesteads Act, the government was finally forced to realize that the Shield was not going to be home for millions of agriculturalists. [6] Three years after the Muskoka district had been thrown open by the act, the Commissioner of Crown Lands recommended that lands remaining unsold and unlocated in this district be offered for sale as timber limits in berths not exceeding twenty square miles. [7] In 1871 this recommendation was extended to the rest of the Ottawa-Huron tract. The remaining territory was to become the domain of the lumberman.

Colonization-road settlers and lumbermen soon began to suffer the consequences of misguided land policies and their own disregard for Shield resources. Tensions developed between the two groups as both competed for diminishing land and pine.

Lumbermen were fed up with timber rustling, they even complained that *bona fide* road settlers got the best timberlands. [8] They discouraged settlers from following their operations into the hinterland. [9] Farmers thought they had a right to the pine on their land and complained that lumbered-over lots were worth less. [10] Lumbermen accused farmers of destroying millions of dollars worth of timber, by starting fires for their clearing and potash-making that spread throughout entire districts. Farmers countered by saying that lumbermen's methods of squaring timber left great amounts of waste wood that were the real source of forest fires.

Whatever their origin, huge fires burned out of control almost every summer, during the 1860 - 1890 period. Fire destroyed vast forests and, worse still, burned the topsoil,

making the land unfit for agriculture and preventing future forest growth by burning white pine seeds in the ground.

Square-timber operations spread far and wide, taking select trees and leaving dry waste in the forest. Saw log-cutting cleared out complete stands of trees, leaving waste logs, trees and dry slash as a fire hazard. It also exposed the shallow soil to erosion. After burning or clear-cutting, man-made deserts of bare rock and scrub were left behind. [11] Rivers were polluted by soil and wood chips. In the spring, run-off was no longer held by forest cover and swelled into flash floods. [12] Farmers too contributed to soil depletion, through their continued cropping of oats and hay and failure to replenish the soil with crop rotation and soil fertilization. Throughout this period, the land was pillaged and a barren wasteland was created. Not government nor lumbermen nor farmers can escape from blame; they simply did not understand the Shield's potential and refused to look to the future.

Conservation Efforts

The 1890's marked the beginning of the end for big-time lumber operations in the Ottawa Valley and, consequently, for the road settlements. The big stands of pine were disappearing and the square-timber trade was declining. Operations began to shift to northwestern Ontario.

Ottawa Valley lumber barons such as J. R. Booth, W. C. Edwards and E. H. Bronson tried to halt this process and preserve what was left of the pine. They were pleased, in 1893, when the provincial government set aside Algonquin Park as a public park, forest reserve, fish and game preserve and health resort. [13] However, they were ultimately disappointed in their hopes. They failed to gain government support for regulations that would give them long-term control over the reserves, allow them to protect the forests from fire and harvest them in a more scientific manner. Their change of heart had come too late to be convincing; it had taken the destruction of eastern-Ontario's pineries

25. *Abandoned farm, Scotch Bush, Renfrew County. 1976.*

26. *Abandoned barn, Newfoundout.*

to make them realize the importance of conservation. By that time, democratic reform tendencies in Ontario defeated their efforts.[14] The people wanted no special favors between government and big business. Monopolists were not to control the public forests. The government favored small independent operators but they could not afford long-term investment in forest preservation. These small operators completed the fast and wasteful harvest of the Shield's major resource.

A smaller, more localized lumber industry took the place of the lumber barons' operations. Fewer men were needed and the great shanty market had come to an end. Local saw mills provided some employment but farming had suffered a mortal blow.

Abandonment

Farmers were left stranded, unable to compete for southern markets. On the fringe of the Shield and around small towns, some farmers switched into milk production, supplying local cheese factories.[15] Many more abandoned their farms and moved south or to the newly-opened Canadian west. The process was slow but inexorable, the reasons for each individual's decision diverse. Poor soil and disappearing markets were the major problems but other factors contributed to the decline of population. Shield farms were too small and often too hilly to make farm machinery profitable. Farmers investing in machines got little return from them, yet they could no longer hire laborers to take in the harvest.[16] Young people would leave their homes

for better prospects and the family farm would be abandoned with the death of their parents.[17] Urban life was becoming more possible, as industry developed in Canada. The old myth of agrarianism had a weakening hold on settlers, attacked for poor farming practices by conservationists and now aware of possibilities for the good life in the cities.[18] Agricultural population was decreasing throughout Ontario at this time. The two world wars were times of great abandonment. War pulled young men off the farms and they were often loath to return.[19]

Some groups stayed longer than others. Abandoned quite early was the southern Hastings road, settled by a mixture of people: mainly Ontario residents, if not natives. The Irish in the Mount Saint Patrick-Dacre area lasted longer, while the Polish of Wilno are still there today. Ethnic cohesion and a strong religious community may have offered intangible encouragements to stay.

Footnotes

1. Aggregate census data for Shield townships, 1871 - 1921, show that population rarely went over the 1000-mark for each township.

2. "The Committee on the Ottawa and Georgian Bay Territory", Appendix 8, Journal of the Legislative Assembly 1869.

3. R. L. Jones, op. cit., p.230.

4. J.H.B. Richards, "Lands and Policies ...," op. cit., p.205.

5. R. L. Jones, op. cit., p.299.

6. Keith A. Parker, op. cit., p.34.

7. J.H.B. Richards, "Lands and Policies ...," op. cit.,

p.208.

8. History of Crown Timber Regulations, op. cit., p.229.

9. Ed McKenna, "Big Gibson," unpublished report for the Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 1976,

> "Those agriculturalists who pushed on into the new timberland were regarded with hostility by the lumbermen, who saw their increasingly scarce forest resource threatened and destroyed by the settlers clearances and fires."

10. History of Crown Timber Regulations, op. cit.

11. C. D. Howe and J. H. White, Trent Watershed Survey: A Reconnaissance, Canada - Commissioner of Conservation, Committee on Forests, Toronto, The Bryant Press, 1913,

> "At the present time, the pine timber, at least, is practically gone from this watershed. A forest cover still exists, but, with the present commercial value almost entirely extracted, interest in its condition is gone; fires have swept through it repeatedly, each time causing further deterioration of the forest cover, until, finally, the bare rock condition or manmade desert is the result ... in ... Methun, Anstruther, and Burleigh alone, nearly 150,000 acres of such desert exist ..."

12. Ibid.

13. Robert Peter Gillis, "The Ottawa Lumber Barons and the Conservation Movement 1880 - 1914," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 9, #4, 1974, p.21.

14. Ibid., p.23.

15. J.H.B. Richards, "Population and the Economic Base ...," op. cit., p.30.

16. Henry F. Noble, "Trends in Farm Abandonment," Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. X, #1, 1962.

17. Ibid.

18. H. V. Nelles, The Politics of Economic Development, op. cit., p.192.

19. J.H.B. Richards, op. cit., p.32.

Conclusion

Retrospect

Population declined and the settlement pattern shrank to a shadowy line, following the routes of the old colonization roads. Farms were seldom consolidated into larger blocks; better soils were not extensive enough for that. The operation and appearance of farms today is much the same as in the 1880's.[1] They are small part-time ventures, concentrating on pasture, oats, hay and summer dairying.[2] The log houses, barns and fences hark back to another era; the farmers could never afford to replace them with the brick third house of the Front. Some sections of road could be right out of the 19th-century or even earlier, considering that 19th-century Shield farms were much like pioneer establishments on the Front. Today the farms are few and far between, "small islands of cleared land surrounded by a sea of woodland and waste".[3] Abandonment continues leaving grey weathered log homes to be reclaimed by the forest.

Decline in population brought an end to Shield villages. Their role in serving the shanty trade disappeared in the 1890's. Today their function as local retail centres has been destroyed by the automobile and road improvements. People travel to the larger towns to do their shopping.[4] Sometimes a few traces still remain to remind us of the bustling times past: several houses clustered around a cross-roads, a church and cemetery with its pioneer gravestones or an old school house. Today, many place names on the maps, Glanmire, Clontarf, Letterkenny are marked by a single farm or nothing at all. Only a few villages such as Wilno or Mount Saint Patrick have managed to maintain some of their former functions. Shield villages were once strung along the colonization roads, like beads on a string; today they are all but gone.

Abandoned farms are the legacy of this misused land-

27. *Wasted agricultural landscape, Newfoundout, Renfrew County.*

log cabin.[5]

Today, tourists, artists and people who love to experience the past return to the abandoned and living farms of the Shield, to experience once again that lamentable battle between man and wilderness. The poet Al Purdy expresses emotions felt by all the ancestors, actual and spiritual, of those Shield settlers defeated by a land they never understood.

THE COUNTRY NORTH OF BELLEVILLE

... Yet this is the country of defeat
where Sisyphus rolls a big stone

year after year up the ancient hills
picknicking glaciers have left strewn
with centuries rubble
                    days in the sun
when realization seeps slow in the mind
without grandeur or self deception in
                        noble struggle
of being a fool ... [6]

scape. The agony and remorse of settlers forced by poverty to leave their homes echo around their deserted farmsteads today. Small and tidy log houses remind us of pioneer families. What effect did the slow realization of failure have on husband and wife, parents and children? Carefully-constructed log barns and fences recall the pride of ownership. Huge stone mounds are the monuments to years of back-breaking labor. We, who are protected from the wilds of weather, and the threat of starvation, can only imagine the hardships endured and the bitterness felt,

... even the "pig-headed" Irish failed along the Opeongo. Whenever I drive it, I see them in my mind's eye, packing it up, calling it quits, admitting the land had beaten them, turning their backs on a hopeless love, leaving behind their first dwellings, charnel-house of dreams; the

Evaluation

The tragedy of the colonization-road settlements was not failure to establish millions of agriculturalists on the Shield; this had always been an impossibility. The real tragedy and waste was failure to conserve the forests. If conservation rather than exploitation had been uppermost in the minds of settlers, lumbermen and government, the Shield landscape might have developed in a much more fruitful way. Settlers would have been kept out of pine regions and only put on the pockets of good soil capable of supporting farms. Lumbermen would have farmed the forests, harvesting and re-planting, rather than wasting wood by square-timbering and clear-cutting. The shanty market and, more importantly, its employment for farmers could have lasted for years, perhaps until the present. For a 30-year period the roads had

49

reasonable success, "Everything went well while the lumber-men remained in the neighborhood, for he would buy everything that could be raised, and also employ the farmer in winter ..." [7] This symbiotic relationship did not last because the lumber industry withdrew after the exploitation and burning of the forest resources. Unfortunately, the lumber industry was not perceived as essential to marginal farming and the industry's continued existence was not planned and worked for. Rather it was expected that the lumbermen would move on and the farmers would somehow establish other agricultural markets.

It is perhaps unfair to blame 19th-century Canadians for a radical misunderstanding of the Shield's potential. What is more important today is our own comprehension of the environment and its resources. Even today, trees are the wealth of the Shield and part-time farmers often depend on their well-managed woodlots to make ends meet. An attempt is being made to recover some of the lost resources. The region once serviced by the colonization roads has been in the process of reforestation since 1900. This landscape can serve as a lesson and a reminder to us all to live within our natural means, and to conserve our natural resources.

Footnotes

1. J.H.B. Richards, "Population and the Economic Base Base ...," op. cit., p.31,

   ... the farm of the twentieth century is not distinctly different from that of the shanty era.

2. Ibid.

3. J.H.B. Richards, Ph.D. Thesis, op. cit., p.145.

4. Ibid., P.280.

5. Joan Finnigan, I Come From the Valley, courtesy of N. C. Press, Toronto, 1976, P.142.

6. Al Purdy, Selected Poems, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1972, pp.118-119.

7. A.R.M. Lower, The Assault on the Canadian Forest, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1938, p.30.

28. *Farmstead with modern and "second house" Opeongo road.*

Pattern: An Historical Review of the Landscape

The colonization-road area in eastern Ontario is a unique historical resource, a 19th-century farming and lumbering district arrested in its phase of decline. The road area has gone through four stages of development since lumbermen first arrived in the early 1800's. The history of these stages is described in the Historical Essay section of this report. The cultural landscape is described here as it would have appeared in each of its four stages.

The cultural landscape is made up of a pattern or relationship between natural features and built form, and it is described here in terms of four pattern organizers: land; roads; demarcations; buildings.

Land - vegetation, soil and drainage. These three were radically altered during successive stages of development.

Roads - an integral part of the pattern. Roads built by lumbermen and the provincial government served as channels for settlement. Roads improved and initiated by settlers extended the pattern of settlement.

Demarcations - man-made or man-ordered boundaries, limits or areas such as: villages; fences; clearings; fields; woodlots; and yards. They are obvious indicators of development and order.

Buildings - their individual characteristics, their number and density, are important components that order the pattern of the landscape. In the colonization-road area there were four types of buildings: domestic, such as farmsteads or village houses; institutional, such as churches and schools; service and commercial, such as stores, stopping-places and post offices; industrial, such as saw and grist mills.

An examination of the landscape in terms of these four organizers should give a good picture of its appearance. The Site Catalogue section, following this review of the historical landscape, details specific sites and their relation to elements of the four stages.

Initial Settlement 1820 - 1850

The Ottawa Valley was, in a sense, opened for settlement by the lumber industry. The square-timber operators, dependent on water for transport of their product, moved up the Ottawa and its tributaries during this period. Timber shanties or lumbermen's working camps were established in the bush, and hundreds of men were employed during the winter months to cut and move the timber.

These men needed supplies; Bytown and the lower Ottawa Valley provided most of their needs. Some supplies also came from local farmers or squatters, who had followed the rivers and tote roads into the region to establish their farms close to the shanty market. These settlers would cut hay from beaver marshes and grow a few crops to sell to the shanties.

Land

During the earlier years of this stage much of the original forest remained. Huge stands of pine predominated, interspersed with hillsides of deciduous trees and swamps of cedar and tamarack. Beavers were very active, creating ponds and meadows where wild grass grew.

Some areas, closer to the rivers, were cut over. Cutting for square timber involved taking the largest pine. This practice removed whole stands of trees and left piles of slash or waste wood throughout the forest. The cut-

29. *Giant pines in Algonquin Park. (Courtesy of Ministry of Natural Resources, photo library).*

over area increased throughout this period and, as sawn lumber became important, more and more trees were removed. Forest fires also began to take their toll. Burned-over sections took years to regain a resemblance of their former appearance. Second-growth scrub took the place of the large pines; species such as ash, birch, maple, sumac as well as berries, bushes and weeds reclaimed the land.

Roads

Any roads that existed during this period were built by the lumber companies to bring supplies and workers into their camps. These were winter tote roads and were only wide enough to allow the passage of teams and sleds. Stumps were left in the roadway and no attempt was made to drain or corduroy the surface. The roads linked the streams and rivers with more settled areas along the Ottawa Valley. Settlers often used them to locate in the interior and lumber companies probably used them to haul logs over short distances.

In Grattan township, during the 1830's, settlers came in on a tote road that ran from the Bonnechere River to the Madawaska. These squatters had established their farms by the time surveyors arrived.

Demarcations

Farmsteads were scattered and isolated. Some were located along tote roads, others were established back from the roads in areas of better soil. Clearings were very small and crops were sown among the stumps. Fences, if any, consisted of trees felled in a line. Beaver meadows were cut for hay.

Buildings

Farmsteads usually consisted of a shanty and a small shed for any animals.

The settler's shanty, like the larger version used by the lumbermen, was constructed of logs notched at the ends to fit into a rectangular shape. They were small, one-storey structures with a flat inclined roof laid over with hollowed-out scoops in the manner of tiles, to allow water to run off. The shanty had a door and one or two windows with a hole or a make-shift chimney in the roof. The timbers were chinked with mud or slaked lime, if it was available.

The sheds were even more roughly constructed than the shanties. They were usually made of round logs with the bark

30. Settler's shanty (Courtesy of the Charles Macnamara collection, Archives of Ontario).

left on and some may not have had chinking depending on their function as storage or shelter.

31. A pioneer's first home. (Courtesy of the Public Archives of Ontario).

Road Building 1850-1860

In the years between 1850 and Confederation, colonization roads were opened in western Canada to connect the settled front with the rough and forested Shield. The purpose of these roads was to bring in agricultural settlers and to provide better service roads for the lumber camps. The roads crisscrossed the Shield region forming a network of trav- elled routes.

They were planned on the grid system, with three

32. 1863 survey of Opeongo road free grant lots in Brudenell township, note granting of lots to Malone family. (Courtesy of Ministry of Natural Resources Survey Records).

main routes running north and south - the Hastings, Addington, and Frontenac roads - and three running east and west - the Opeongo, Peterson, and Mississippi roads. [2]

Long narrow lots of about 50 acres were laid out on either side of the road to be granted to *bona fide* settlers. These lots were approximately 20 chains along the front and were planned to allow reasonably-close proximity between settlers. Settlers were usually granted two or more lots to make up their allotted 100 acres. Some families received several grants for adult members. The construction of these roads and the granting of lands brought order and regulation to the settlement process and affected the changing landscape of the Shield.

Land

The forests of the Shield were falling under the axe. Trees made accessible by roads were quickly cut by lumbermen or settlers. Fires spread through the road area and the desolation of burnt-over hillsides became common.

The lack of forest cover began to affect drainage and spring runoff often caused flooding and erosion. Much of the land had poor drainage and swampy land divided the higher hillsides.

Roads

Procedures for opening roads were usually much the same. In the case of new routes, such as colonization roads, a surveyor or explorer went ahead and marked out a course. Blazers notched trees on either side to show the boundaries, 66 feet wide, and axemen chopped the trees which lay in the road right of way. Gangs of men followed with oxen to clear away the trunks and bush. Usually the larger stumps were left in the ground to rot, often for years. The travelled route wound between these stumps. Ploughs sometimes were used instead of shovels to level hills but, in general, hand tools predominated. [3]

These new roads were really only suitable for winter

sleighing and they were soon improved for year-round use. Trees were cut and laid cross-ways on the road bed, providing a corduroy surface over low-lying areas. Corduroy bridges were constructed with long trunks crossing the water and shorter trunks laid cross-ways on top of them.

These roads were wretched means of transportation and settlers' complaints led to further improvements. Sloping sections were built up with loose rock and ditches were dug to provide a minimum of drainage. Even with these improvements the roads remained the bane of a settler's existence.

The road network ordered the settlement pattern that was to follow. Settlers established their farms along the main routes and in this period no farms were established in back concessions. Fences and clearings bordered the road line.

Demarcations

The land was divided by survey lines that cut through good and bad land, often separating the small sections of better farm land. During the early 19th century, the eastern portion of the south Shield was surveyed into lots ¼ mile wide and 1½ miles long, making each property 200 acres. These Crown lands were made available for a small sum of money to settlers, provided they fulfilled settlers' duties which consisted of: clearing 15 acres of land; building a dwelling 16' x 20'; and keeping cleared the portion of road fronting on their property. The road allowance occurred at every fifth lot, forming concessions in a square. This is not unlike the pattern established throughout all southern Ontario, forming the familiar grid throughout the countryside. Later, lands on either side of the colonization ranges were surveyed in this same pattern. The structure of lots on either side of colonization roads was different from that of the gridded portions of land. The long and narrow 50-acre properties cut through the grid, leaving oddly-shaped lots which settlers could acquire. Each side of the road was called a range; for example on the Opeongo road there was a north and south range, and each was numbered depending on the township it belonged to.
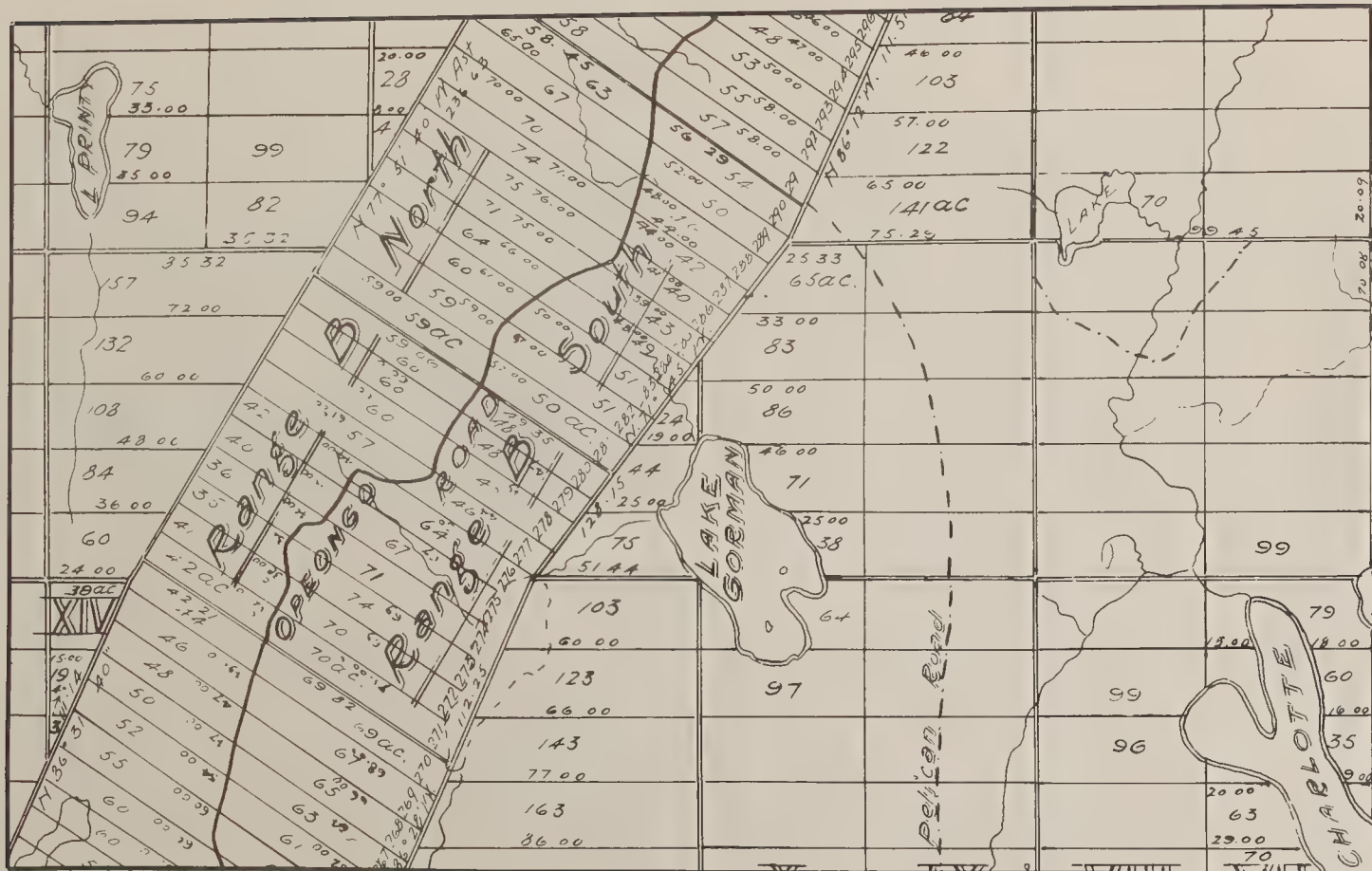
33. Brudenell Township showing survey grid today, (Courtesy of the Ministry of Natural Resources, Surveys and Mapping Branch).
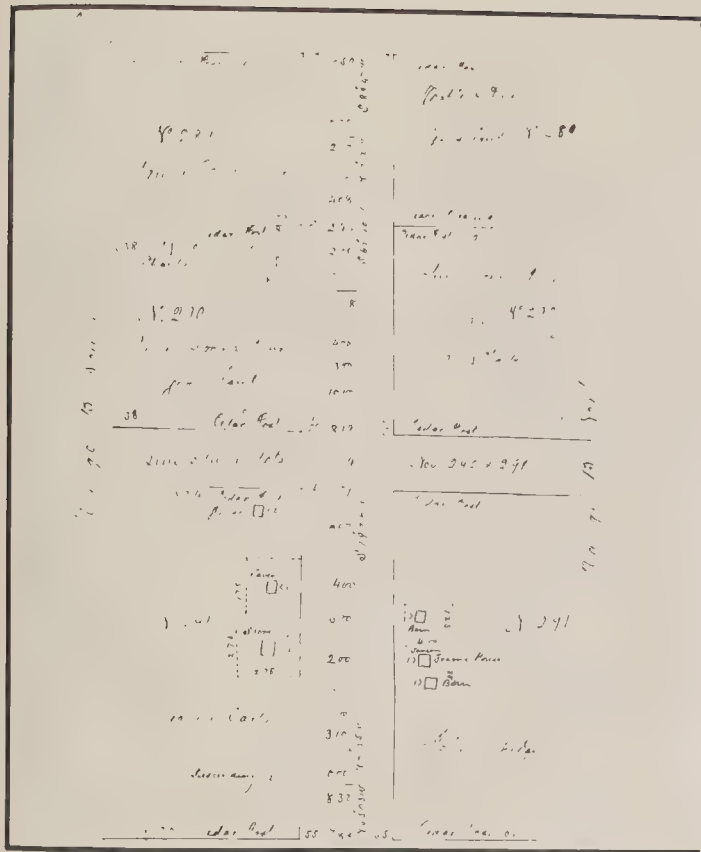
34. *Ribbon development is apparent here in the siting of taverns, store, shanties and houses along the road line, 1863 survey of free-grant lots on Ottawa and Opeongo road, (Courtesy of the Ministry of Natural Resources Survey Records).*

The colonization-road line-and-lot grid ordered the settlement pattern. Farmsteads were concentrated on the road line making a strip of development. This development consisted of farms and stopping-places, with clearing of about 15 acres, established at intervals along the road line. The pattern produced was a ribbon of settlement with sites scattered along it, like beads on a string. Clearings were marked with lines of log fencing, probably made with whole logs cut into manageable lengths and connected in snake-fashion. Stumps and boulders were left in the fields during this early period and beaver meadows were still utilized. Cleared areas increased throughout these years.

Buildings

Farmsteads and stopping-places were the major structural elements during this period. Regulations required that buildings of 16' x 20' be constructed on settlers' lots. These were usually rough shanties but they were replaced within ten years by the solidly-constructed square-timber "second house" and the shanty then became a shed or outbuilding. The square-timber houses varied in size but were rarely much larger than 16' x 20'. They often had a second half-storey or loft area for sleeping. The gabled-roof structure had windows cut on the ends to provide light to the loft. Stone foundations were sometimes used. The door was roughly centred with one or two windows on the front and back. The roof was shingled with cedar shakes. These houses usually fronted on the road and were set 50' to 100' from the road line.

In this period, log sheds and barns were constructed to house cattle and hay. These structures were usually about 20' x 18' or 18' x 16' and about 8' or 15' high. Their size was dependent on available materials and technology. Log building prevailed on a scale most easily handled by two or more builders. Above the dovetailed, square-timber superstructure was the gable-shaped roof. No ridge boards were used; the rafters were joined at the ridge with a simple pin-joint and were secured in notches in the topmost wall timbers. Planks were laid on the rafters and nailed, then cedar shingles nailed over. The ends of the gable were con-

35. *A typical "second house," Shamrock farmstead, site #40 on the Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.*

structed of a rough timber frame placed on the end wall and then sheathed in vertical boards or clapboard.

Most farmsteads boasted no more than four buildings during these years: shanty; house; barn; and stable. Frame houses were a rare occurrence. Stopping-places were much the same as a typical "second house", except for a larger plan and possibly an extra door or window. They also had a larger stable for housing the shantymen's teams of horses. Post offices were established in the latter years of this period and were housed in regular homes with an area set aside for business. A water-powered saw mill was established at Balaclava in the 1850's and was one of the first industrial structures in the colonization-road area.

abandoned
farmhouse

Letterkenny

Comparison of
building sizes

Curry farmhouse
& Post Office

Esmonde

stopping place

Hopefield

| 0 meters | 5 | 10 |

| 0 feet | 10 | 20 | 30 |
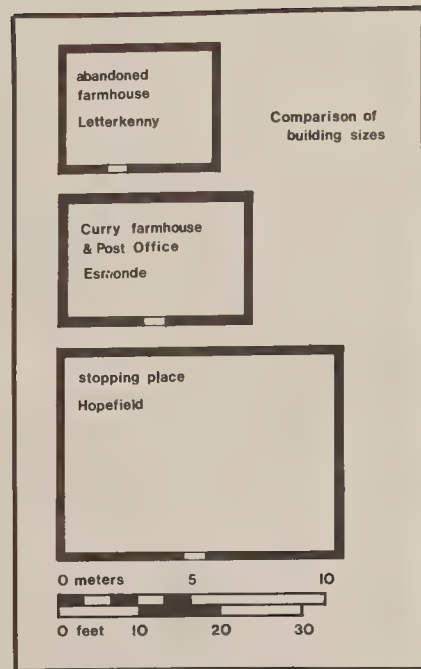
36. *Buildings with the same 1½-storey form, varied in size to accommodate different functions.*

The Best Years   1860 - 1890

In these years, agricultural settlers on the roads could make a fair living by selling their produce to lumber companies. The settlement pattern extended into better farming areas in the back townships and villages began to

37. *Typical farmstead, 1871, courtesy of the Archives of Ontario.*

grow up along the roads. Mills were established at good dam sites. Now that a local market existed, services like blacksmithing, weaving and shoemaking were provided to road settlers, usually by their neighbours but sometimes by settlers in towns on the edge of the road area, such as Renfrew, Madoc, or Eganville.

Land

The destruction of the forest was completed in this period, leaving the entire area cut over. The lack of tree cover and settler farming practices of planting the same crops without rotation led to massive soil erosion. In latter years, so-called "deserts" were created when shallow sandy soils were washed away leaving bare rock exposed. Streams were flooded in the spring and often carried away dams and bridges. In the summer they dried up, causing power problems for mill operators.

Roads

The colonization roads were constantly under repair during these years. The government hired road gangs every summer and settlers were expected to aid in this process. The worst sections of road were abandoned entirely and new routes were made; this left some angry settlers cut off and hastened their departure. In some areas the road pattern was extended into side-roads by settlers, often using government-grant money. These secondary roads led into better farming land or they provided better connections with established town and mill sites.

Connecting side-road development

The lines of survey, occurring every ten lots along the colonization roads, were intended as side-roads. These were to provide a means of public access into the land beyond the ranges on either side of the roads. For the most part, these side-roads remained undeveloped; however, in areas of better soil, they were extended into the land beyond for agricultural settlement. This occurred in the Wilno area, at German Settlement, the O'Grady settlement and at Newfoundout; all these were connected to the Opeongo road. If far enough away from the road, these side-road settlements provided their own services; however, in most cases they were only two or three miles from the ribbon development on the colonization road and were dependent upon these services. Side-road development was not extensive and colonization roads still proved to be the major organizers of settlement.

Demarcations

The strip or ribbon pattern of settlement prevailed in this period but was overlaid and affected by several factors. Areas of poor soil and swamp were abandoned, while areas of better soils and drainage were developed. Although abandonment took place, population numbers rose throughout this period, as some farms prospered and families stayed to make their living.

The basic ribbon pattern was affected by several developments caused by growth of farming and extent of lumbering operations in the area. These new developments included: establishment of institutions; crossroad villages; and mill villages.

Establishment of Institutions - Along the ribbon of colonization roads, certain institutions were located to serve the road settlers. Often a settler would donate a corner of land for the site of a school or church as clergy reserves had not been set aside for this purpose. These institutions were sometimes isolated or separated from each other by a distance, depending on the location of land donated; for example, the Lutheran church on the Opeongo is separated from the main Lutheran cemetery by about a quarter of a mile. Schools were similarly situated at intervals along the road to reach as many settlers as possible.

Cross-road Villages - These developed in two ways. The first occurred where the cross-roads already existed; for example, at Dacre where the old route between the Bonnechere and Madawaska crossed the Opeongo line, and at Maynooth where the Peterson crossed the Hastings road.

post office
farmstead

Opeongo Road

Church

house
community hall

38
Ribbon Settlement
Esmonde
Site No 60
Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60
0 f   100   200

The second way a crossroads village could develop was when settlers concentrated in a better area of land and demanded or built a road to connect themselves to service areas; for example, at Brudenell where the Peterson Junction road met the Opeongo and a road was constructed into Eganville in the 1880's. The intersection of two routes naturally induced or reinforced the development of a local service centre, as stopping-places, stores, etc. were located there to benefit from increased traffic. The main difference of this pattern from the ribbon settlement is the relatively high concentration of buildings in the area. The road frontage is doubled by the intersection, producing more edges for settlement. The point where two roads intersected was the logical location for services which required little land, such as schools, churches, stores, stopping-places, post offices and, later, hotels. The land was often divided up into small lots and a village of two streets was established.

Mill Villages - There were several good mill sites in the colonization-roads area, where saw and grist mills were established. Settlers were attracted to these sites to work and to buy the flour and lumber produced. Stores were established to supply workers and mill customers and small villages were established. Mill villages included Mount St. Patrick, Balaclava and Rockingham; they were connected by road to the colonization network.

In this period, a village consisted of several buildings located very close to the street and separated on the side by small yards. Barns and sheds were located in the back and, beyond that, were the fields of neighboring farmsteads.

Farmsteads changed in their pattern during the 1860-1890 period; they were enlarged, more buildings were added and clearing continued. Stumps and boulders were removed from fields and placed on their borders, making fence rows which grew up with weeds, bushes and trees. Sometimes boulders were left in huge piles in the centre of fields. Fences were usually made of split rails in snake or straight-line style, and they often augmented lines of stone where

(stoppingplace)

(commercial building)

school

Legris house

post office

Madawaska – Bonnechere Road

church

39
Cross Roads Village
Dacre
Site No. 51
Opeongo Road

0 m	30	60
0 f	100	200

N

Lake Constant

← Dacre

general store

lumber
shed

sawmill

house

farmstead

Constant Creek

barn
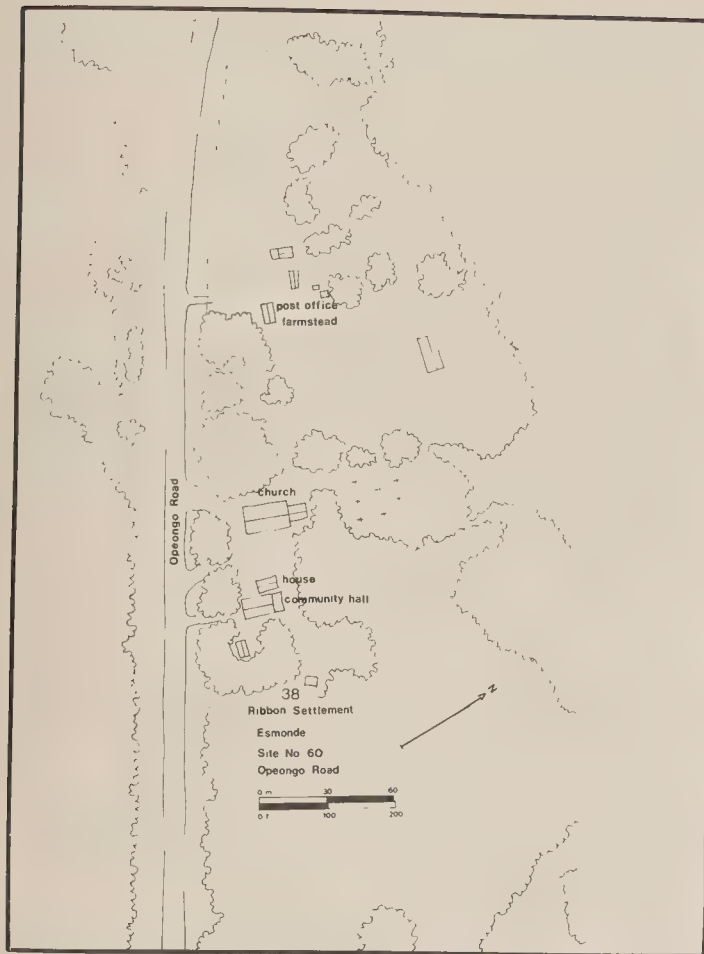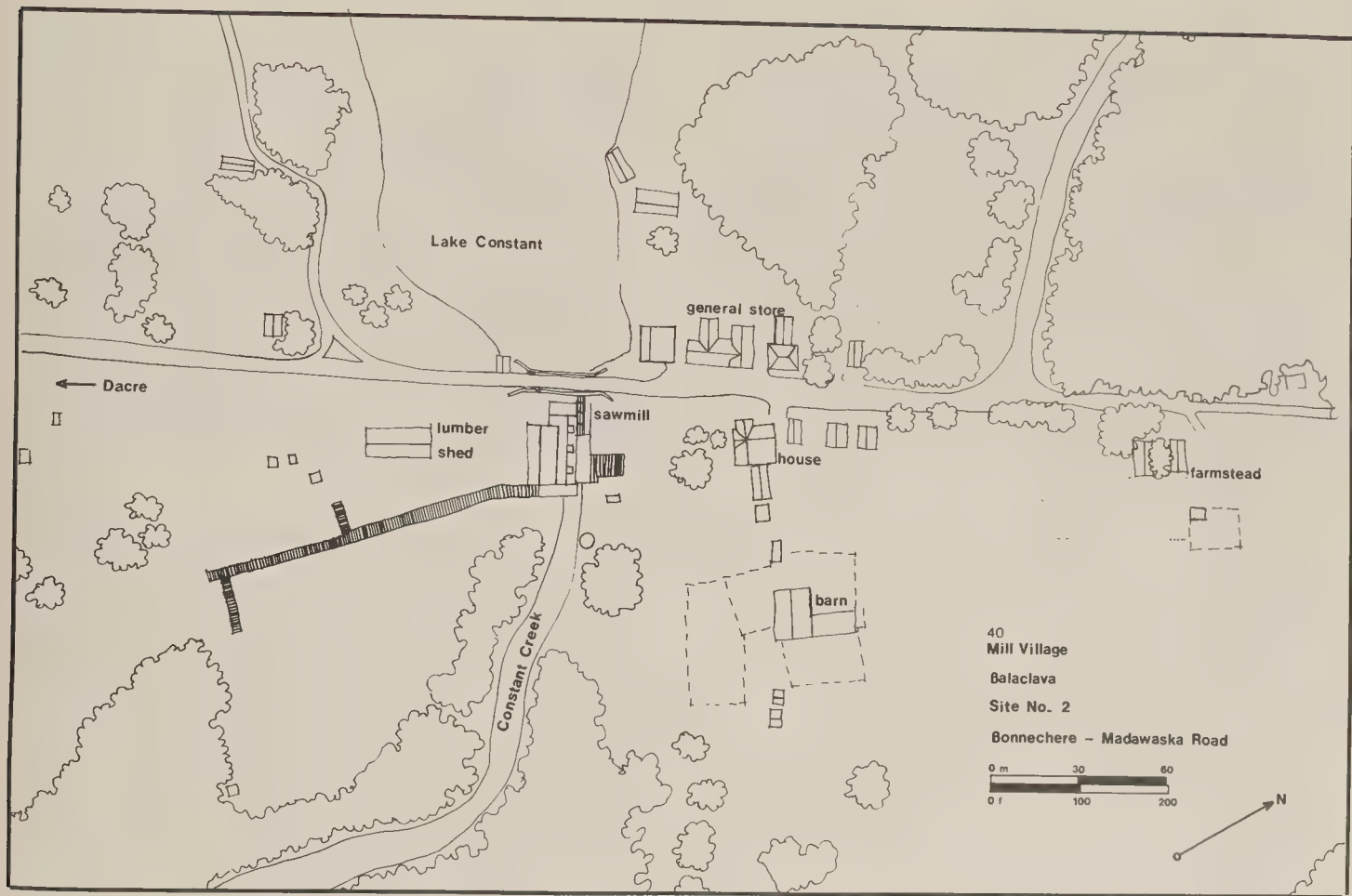
40
Mill Village

Balaclava

Site No. 2

Bonnechere – Madawaska Road

| 0 m | 30 | 60 |
| 0 f | 100 | 200 |

N

41. *Straight-rail fence with cross pieces, Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.*

42. *Weighted gate and stone fence, Addington road. Autumn 1976.*

the stone alone was not a sufficient barrier. At the end of this period, the introduction of wire must have made fence construction much easier and led to the predominance of straight-rail fencing which used less timber. Weighted gates may have been constructed during this period. These had a long pole attached along the top of the gate; at the end extending over the axis was a box filled with stone or a large rock suspended on a chain. This balanced the gate and helped to swing it open and shut.

Orchards were planted, usually near the house to provide a windbreak and fresh fruit. Fields were cut for hay, some oats were planted and vegetables were grown in a garden plot.

Buildings

This period saw the proliferation of building types with the establishment of services and institutions. The following is a description of the type and form of buildings found during these years.

Farmhouses of square-timber construction still prevailed during these years, as logs were cheap and plentiful. The 1½-storey "second house" form continued to predominate, sometimes with variations such as a larger plan, doors with side and transom lights, and gingerbread detailing. Often a summer kitchen was attached to the back of the house giving it a T-shape. Other appendages were grafted onto the back for storage of equipment and foodstuffs. As sawn lumber became available, some farmers constructed frame houses but they were exceptions. In these years, settlers probably began the style of covering log buildings with clapboard and shiplap. This practice continued into the next period.

44. *Banked barn, Bark Lake, site #139, Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.*

43. *Typical "second house" covered in shiplap, site #117, Opeongo road, north face. Summer 1976.*

Outbuildings were added to farms during these years. The form of small log structures with round logs, squared timbers, dovetail notching and cedar shingles prevailed. The small form remained because logs were cheaper than sawn lumber and were most easily handled in 15' to 20' lengths. When a farmer wanted to increase his storage space, it would be far easier to build another small barn than a large one out of heavy, awkward timbers. Barns were two-bay, centre-door structures with gable roofs, sometimes set on dry-stone foundations but usually on the ground, and chinked with wood and mortar. Sheds were smaller structures with single doors.

Besides barns and sheds, outbuildings included smoke houses, granaries, corn cribs, pigsties, chicken coops, root cellars and, of course, privies. The function of each building in some cases dictated its form; for example, a pigsty only required a very small door, corn cribs and granaries were taller and narrower than the other buildings. Interesting variations on the typical log construction also appeared. Banked barns were structures set into the side of a hill to provide two levels and shelter; half barns were one-bay barns built with the double door at one end of a side wall, so that the second bay could be added later.[4]

Outbuildings were sited in a scattered pattern, prob-ably dictated by wind and topography. It is likely that in the latter years of this period the development of attached barns appeared, perhaps because the threat of fire dimin-ished with the forests. Farmers began to string their out-buildings together in rows, courtyard U-shapes or L-shaped formations, adding to these forms over the years. Attached barns provided shelter from the wind for animals and al-lowed farmers to walk from barn to barn doing their chores without going outside. These attachments were also economi-
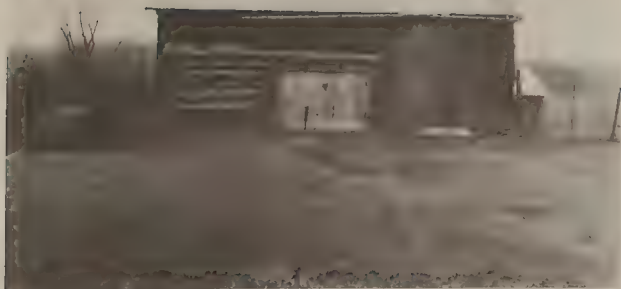
45. *Half barn with addition, site #95 on the Opeongo road.
Autumn 1977.*

46. *Attached barns, Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.*

cal as the end wall of one structure served as support for
the next. Even today, colonization-road farmsteads are dis-
tinguished from their southern Ontario counterparts by the
predominance of these small and numerous log structures,
often attached in various formations.

Institutions – Churches and schools were similar in
form, usually single-room, rectangular structures with gable
roofs. Churches were most often larger than schools. Both
types of institution had a vestibule to provide a weather
break and to mark a formal entrance. These entries faced
the travelled route. Churches and schools were built of
square timber, usually on stone foundations. They often had
three large windows on either side, to allow for enough day-
light to penetrate the structure. These institutions were
usually built on land donated by local residents. Communi-
ties would get together and put up these buildings after
they had established their farms. In the 1890's, several

stone churches were built along colonization roads. The
plan of these was similar to, if slightly larger than, that
of log churches.[5]

Services – Post office, blacksmith, stopping-place,
store, were provided by local residents from their own homes
at the beginning of the 1860-1890 period. The typical 1½-
storey structure had a double function: as home combined
with store, post office or stopping-place. In the case of
a post office, the building was divided by a wall with liv-
ing quarters on one side and office on the other; or a small
addition might be put on the side of a house. Stopping-
places were usually larger in plan than houses but had the
same form. Blacksmithing took place in a typical barn or
stable on a settler's property. Stores were probably the
first service to develop a slightly different plan. The ty-
pical gable-roof structure was turned sideways with the
gable-end facing the street. Door and windows would be on

47
COMPARISON of BUILDING SIZES

Brudenell School

Vanbrugh School

Rockingham Church

Clontarf Church

Letterkenny Church

Dacre Church

Wilno Cathedral

0 meters   5   10

0 feet 10 20 30
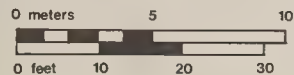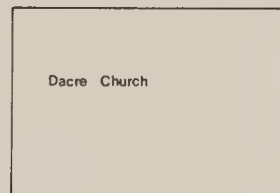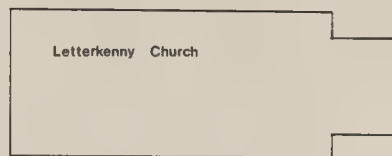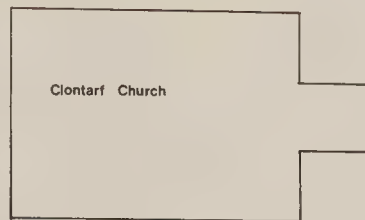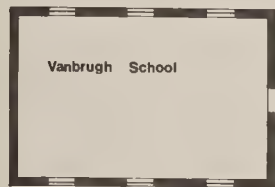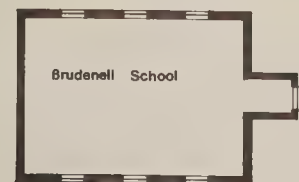
48. *Jeffery's lumbermen's hotel, Rockingham. (Ministry of
Natural Resources, photo library).*

49. *Hipped-roof village house, south-west face, Rockingham.
Autumn 1977.*

the end wall. This shift gave the building a more imposing
facade and was an appropriate commercial adaptation of the
basic 1½-storey house form. Stores were set much closer to
the road, usually 10 to 15 feet from the road edge. [6]

Later, some more sophisticated building forms began to
develop. The late 1880's saw the appearance of hotel build-
ings such as the one at Brudenell, a large frame 2-storey
structure with several entrances, second-storey dormers, and
a wide verandah around the front and sides. Frame stores
were built with large windows and boom-town fronts were used
to give these commercial facilities a more distinctive ap-
pearance.

Village houses, during this period, took on aspects
that differentiate them from the typical farmhouse. The
use of frame construction, larger plans and more sophisti-
cated forms such as hipped roofs, came first to villages.
Often these houses, though set back from the street, mim-

icked the gable-end-to-road form of a village commercial or
institutional structure.

Decline 1890

The last phase of colonization-road history was the de-
cline of a farming and lumbering district. In the late
1890's, the lumber industry moved out of the area and small
saw-mill operators took over. The shanty market disappeared
and railways usurped the road's transportation function.
Abandonment of poor farming areas continued and farms tended
to become clustered in better areas. The road pattern
shrank back to a few main routes as side-roads were aban-
doned, and many features of the landscape remained unchanged
for years, frozen in their state of decline.

50. 1977 farmstead, Opeongo road.

Land

Second-growth forest grew up to take the place of the pines. Land that had been agricultural also reverted to bush. Farming continued in areas of better soils and drainage, usually on the high elevations of hills and mountain sides. Forest fires became less a problem. Reforestation projects brought back the pines in neat and regimented rows. The effects of erosion and forest fires were covered in time by new growth.

51. *Section of original Opeongo route where road has been straightened. Autumn 1976.*

Opeongo Road

original route of Opeongo Road

barn
house
sheds
barn
(no roof)

N

52
Shamrock Farmstead

Site No. 40

Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60
0 f   100   200
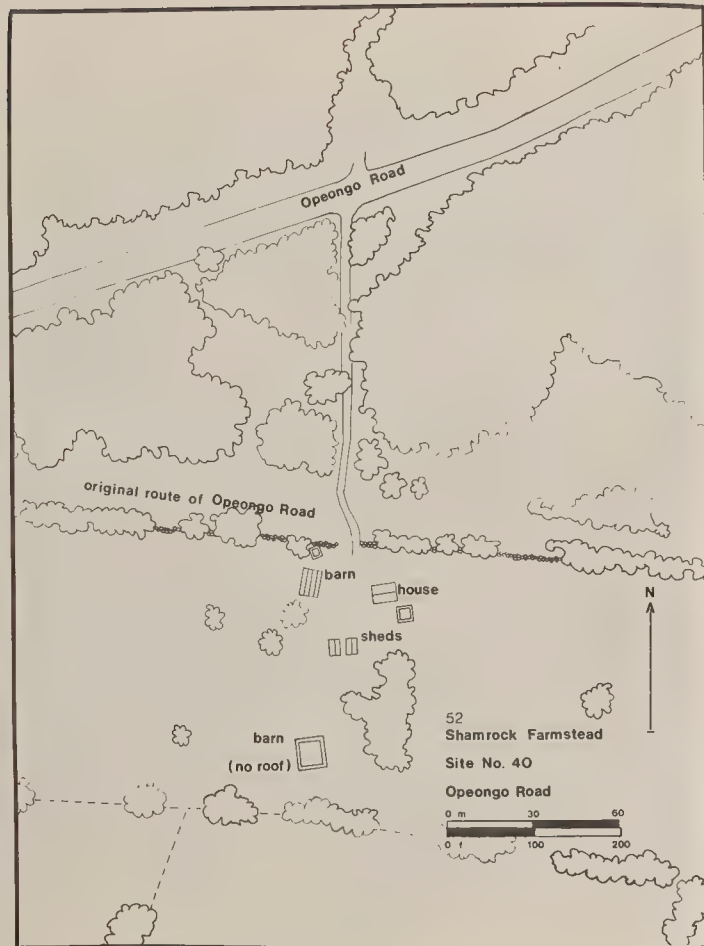
Roads

The colonization roads declined in importance and became very poor travel routes. Local residents kept the roads clear through statute labor. Some side-roads were abandoned as settlers moved out. In recent years the twisting, hilly and tree-lined roads have been straightened and widened. Widening removed the old rail fences and trees, straightening left the original route looping off to right or left. These deviations still demonstrate the width, positioning and borders of the old roads.

53. *Stone, log and wire fence, site #2 on the Mount St.*
Patrick road. Autumn 1977.

Demarcations

The abandonment of poorer land caused a clustering of operating farms on hilltops and areas of thicker soil. Between the islands of cleared land are miles of scrub and swamp. The fields are used for pasturing cattle and are still lined by stone and rail and wire fences. Rail-fence construction usually takes the form of long rails resting on stone or wood transverse sleepers and reinforced by stakes set into the ground and wired to the interlocking section. Along the road line, old rails and trees have often been removed and wire fencing predominates. In the case of abandoned farms it is still possible to see fields never cleared of their stones (Newfoundout) or fields returning to forest with decrepit fences leading into the bush.

Orchards are no longer tended and have become overgrown. Farmers now have managed woodlots which they harvest judiciously every winter. Some farms have recently been replanted with pine. Associated with this activity are small saw mills located on certain farms. Villages lost many of their functions in this period, as settlers went to towns on the edges of the road area. No stopping-places and few stores are in operation. Some have been converted to homes. Villages have diminished in size and activity. Streets are wider, to accommodate automobile traffic, but this directs residents to the larger centres for their shopping.

Buildings

Few new developments arrived to change the built form associated with colonization roads. Log and square-timber construction for barns and even houses has predominated until recent years. Logs were still plentiful and cheap, and farmers had the time to put up the old-style buildings. Dovetail-notched structures survive the test of time quite well. Often the walls of old barns are left standing while the more flimsy roof has long since disappeared. Most churches in the colonization-road area date to the 1860-1890 period. The cathedral at Wilno is an interesting exception, with its vast proportions. The cathedral is an expression of Polish settlers' pride, determination and cohesion. This

group arrived in the 1860's and stayed after many others had left.

There was one new development in house construction after 1890, the appearance of two-storey flat-top houses constructed of frame or concrete blocks. These seem to date from the years immediately prior to World War I and later. Hip-roof buildings are also associated with this period.

As previously mentioned, a few farmers have their own saw mills to cut timber for a few weeks every year. These are small frame structures, long and narrow, with a wide door at one end to admit the logs. The saw-mill machinery is often steam-powered. Associated with these mills are sheds with wide openings to accommodate the sawn lumber.[7]

55. *Flat-top house, west face, Mount St. Patrick. Autumn 1977.*

54. *Log and wire fence, Newfoundout. Summer 1976.*

In the colonization-road area, it is the lack of influences related to modern economic growth and development that leaves us with an almost perfect picture of a 19th-century landscape. There are no suburbs, super highways or new industrial parks. There are few bungalows or gas stations. Without conflicting or contradictory influences, the landscape pattern survives unchallenged.

The pattern is modest in scale and weathered by the years but presents us with a strong sense of time and place.

56. Farmstead, site #101, Opeongo road.

57. *Farmstead on the Opeongo road, 1977.*

Milepost Routes

The following pages give a general description of each of the four colonization roads in eastern Ontario: Opeongo, Peterson, Addington and Hastings. Occurrences of the 19th-century features along sections of their routes is given in sufficient detail to allow for comparison of the roads in terms of the three criteria outlined in the Planning Section: the number of buildings that date from or represent the 19th century; the extent of road which approximates the original route and form; the relative freedom from intrusions of modern development.

Each of the milepost routes was recorded while driving passable sections of the colonization roads. Locations of interest are given to the nearest tenth of a mile, indicating on which side of the road they occur. Recording was concentrated on structures representing a 19th-century farming-lumbering landscape, although some later features, such as steam saw mills, are also noted. Generally, areas which still have a high concentration of representative buildings are those which are more difficult to drive through. Newer buildings occur on portions of the road which are widened and paved. These are also closer to built-up regions, such as the towns of Barry's Bay, Renfrew and Bancroft.

Several selected farmsteads and representative structures of early settlement, recommended for preservation in the Planning section, have been examined more closely. Accurate measurements were taken of these buildings and site plans were drawn of the farmstead to illustrate more fully the typical structures along the roads. These examples are described in the Catalogue of Sites in this section. Featured sites which received this treatment are marked by an asterisk (*) on the lists which follow and on the accompanying site location maps.

The Opeongo road has been recorded practically for its entire length, while only portions of the Addington, Peterson and Hastings roads appear here. Roads having other known early settlements such as Wilno, Balaclava, Mount St. Patrick and Newfoundout have also been examined.

Opeongo Road

The Opeongo, in comparison to other colonization roads, presents the best representation of a 19th-century farming and lumbering district. While the Opeongo road has suffered many changes during the past century, traces of the early-settlement patterns and many original buildings may still be readily seen.

The most accurate representation of the colonization process is present along portions of this route which are not designated highways and, therefore, not frequently travelled. These sections of the roads remain county roads, are predominately gravel and are used locally. Although in several sections Highway 132 coincides with the original route, the widened travelling surface and shoulders of the road throw the relationship of road to farmstead and farm house out of proportion. In these cases the original dwellings may often be seen, although their context within the landscape has been altered.

The milepost route commences at Castleford on the Ottawa River and travels west toward Renfrew. The appearance of this first section of road does not give a close approximation of a 19th-century farming-lumbering landscape. This section has better farmland than most colonization-road areas and it was settled before the road was built. The original route has been overlaid by a wide paved highway.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
1	0.0	North - Century farm on Farrels Point, 1½-storey stone house, log barns.
2	0.3	North - site of Farrels Landing where the Opeongo road commenced, square-timber log outbuilding.

Turning southwest at Castleford, this section of the road is not on the original route which ran from Farrels Landing and rejoins the highway 0.9 miles from the corner. This is the first major deviation, or section where the original road is not a part of presently travelled sections.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
3	0.5	Southwest corner - log barn.
4	1.0	South - 1½-storey farm house, log and board barns.
5	1.7	North - round-timber log barns, farm house.
6	2.8	North - square- and round-timber attached barns.
7	3.1	South - red-brick farm house, one log barn, one board barn.
		North - square-timber house.
8	3.5	North - small log barn.
9	3.55	South - attached board barns.
10	4.1	North - small log outbuildings.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
11	4.5	North - frame house, log shed.
12	4.6	South - red-brick farm house, log and board barns.
13	4.9	South - farmstead with attached log and board barns.
14	5.9	South - red-brick 2-storey farm house, board barns.
15	6.0	North - 1½-storey square-timber house.
16	6.2	North - white frame farm house.
17	6.25	South - red-brick 1½-storey farm house, board barns.
18	6.35	South - farmstead with log barns, facing on section of the old road that deviates to the south.

At this point the colonization road goes through Renfrew. This section has changed considerably since the 19th century. No sites are recorded for approximately 2.4 miles. The original route of the Opeongo runs south out of Renfrew at Carswells Hill, joins Highway 132 briefly, loops south for approximately 2.7 miles and then rejoins 132. These sections of the road have many modern buildings and have been straightened and widened.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
19	8.8	North - Carswells Hill
20	10.1	North - farmstead, 1½-storey house, log outbuildings; it is possible that the original

COLONIZATION ROADS EASTERN ONTARIO

Colonization Road – passable — — — —
Colonization Road – impassable
Highway
Lakes & Rivers
Connecting Side Road

0   4   8   12
Miles
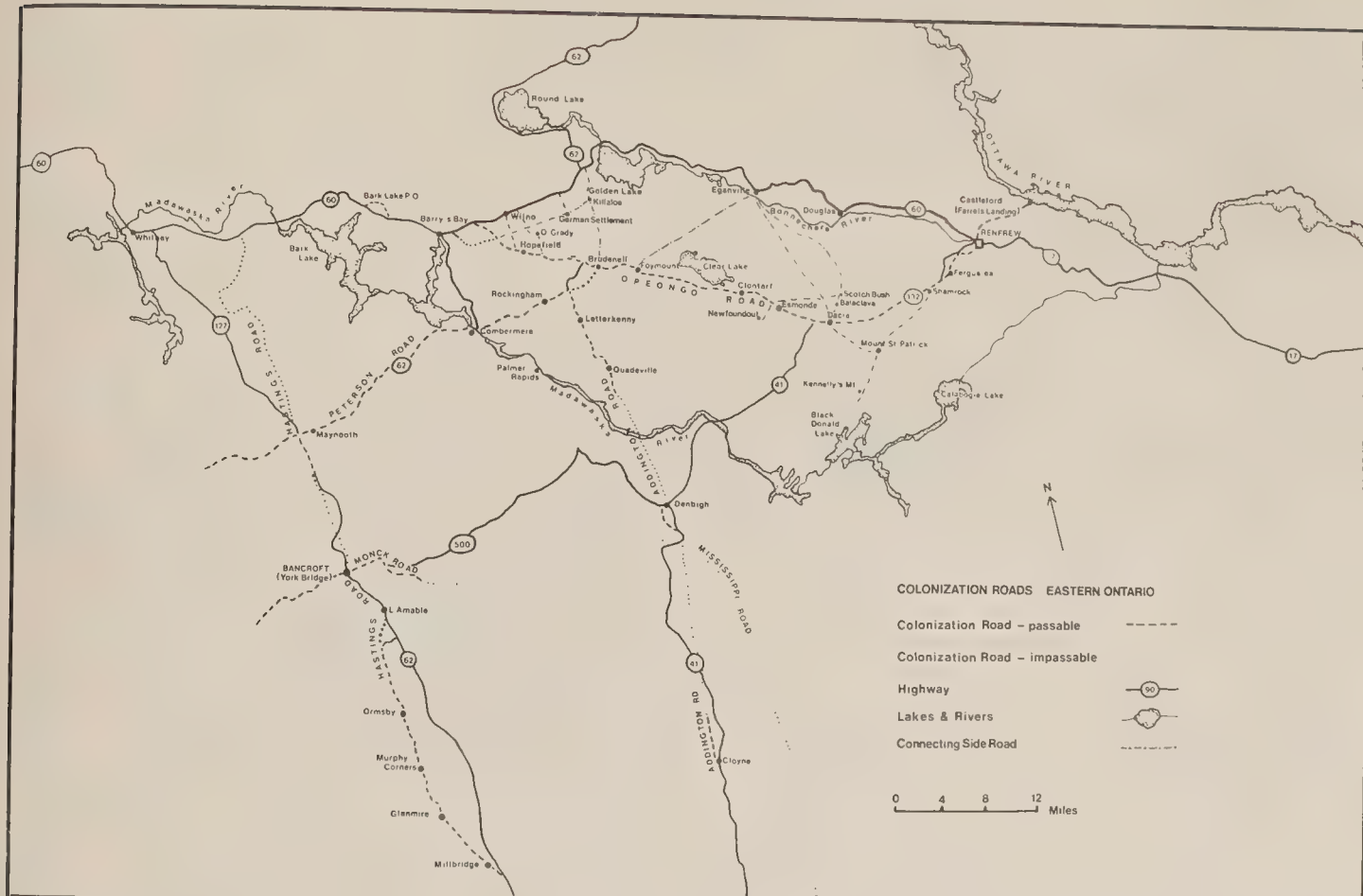
Site Location Maps

The following are site location maps of the Opeongo
Road and connecting side roads. Unless otherwise indi-
cated, connecting side roads are on separate pages and
where possible a portion of the Opeongo Road has been
shown to give a better reference to side road location.

scale of each map, 1:50,000

Titles appear to the south of each map.

OPEONGO ROAD, sites 1 to 25
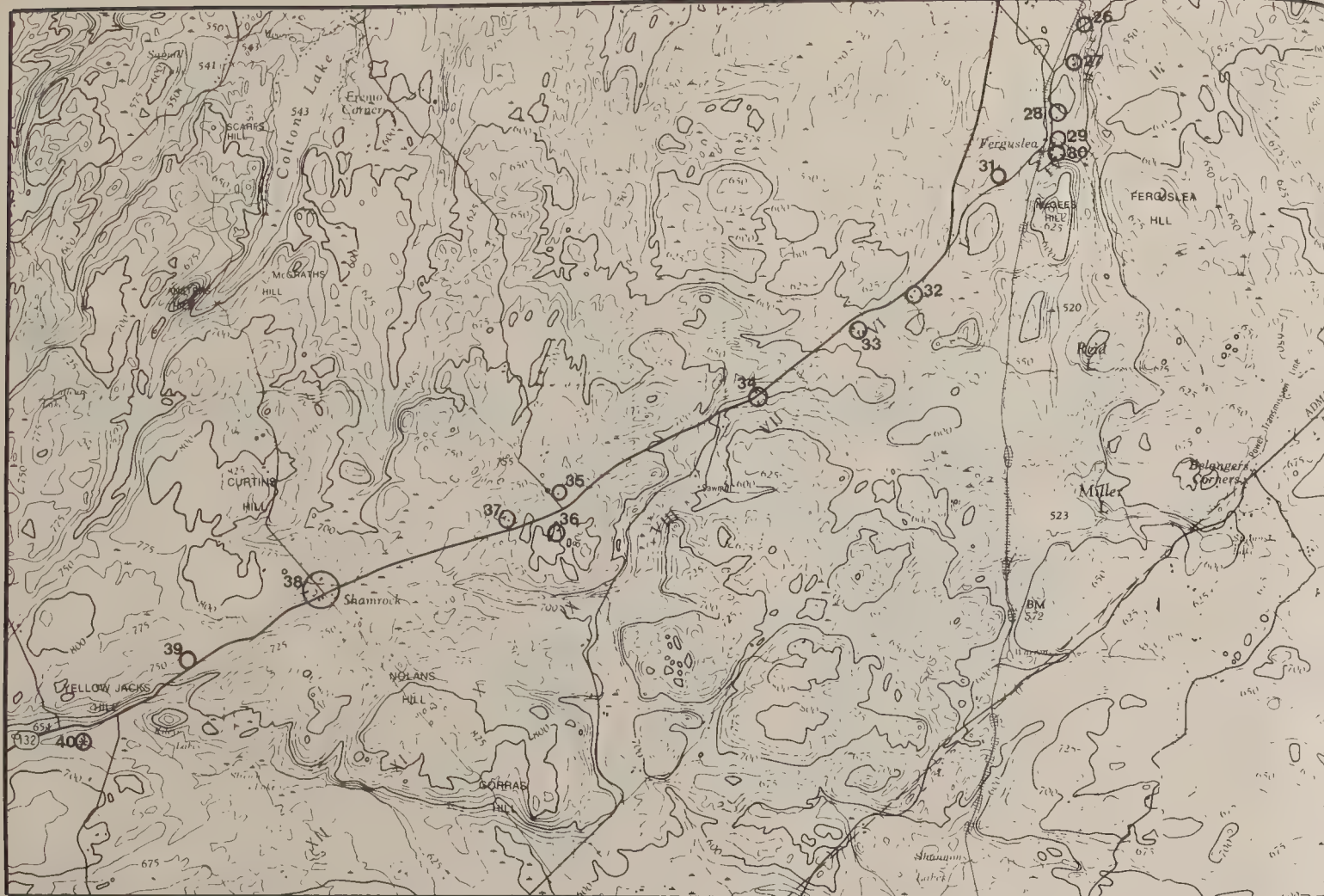
OPEONGO ROAD, sites 26 to 40

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		route ran closer to the front of the house.
21	10.3	South – farmstead, square-timber house, log barns attached in a U-shape.

Road rejoins Highway 132.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
22	10.7	North – farmstead, 2-storey hip-roof brick house, two parallel lines of log and board barns (attached), fore-bay area under one barn.

Road loops south of Highway 132.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
23	10.95	East and west – rail fences along road-side.
24	11.2	West – stucco house may be frame underneath, attached log barns.
25	11.7	West – snake-rail fence.
26	12.1	– concrete bridge.
27	12.4	East – remodeled house, log barns.
28	12.8	East – log barns, square timbered, dovetail notches.
29	13.0	East – insul-brick school house.
30	13.05	East – Ferguslea, formerly a stopping place, and a station on the Kingston and Pembroke Railway, log barns, three insul-brick houses, log house covered by new additions.
31	13.45	West – re-assembled log house.

Route rejoins Highway 132.

The following section has more farmsteads with log buildings that approximate 19th-century structures but the paved highway obliterates the original road in most cases.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
32	14.4	South – farmstead, log barns, original route ran south, in front of house.
33	14.8	South – farmstead, 1½-storey frame house, log barns, original route ran south in front of farm.
34	15.65	North and south – farmstead bisected by highway; house on north, barns on south.
35	17.2	North – log barn, insul-brick house.
36	17.3	South – L. Quilty farm, white frame house, numerous log outbuildings.
37	17.6	North – insul-brick house, row of attached log barns.
38	18.9	North and south – Shamrock village, clapboard house, log barns

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		and sheds, square-timber log house, log barn.
39	19.9	North - log barn ruin, tree growing in middle.
40*	20.8	South - Shamrock farm, abandoned farmstead, square-timber house, log barns, original route runs in front of house, south of highway.
41	21.15	North - saw mill, probably steam-powered.
42	21.4	South - connecting side-road with two farmsteads.
43	22.4	South - insul-brick house, shed.
44	22.8	South - insul-brick house, log barns.
45	23.3	North - 2-storey frame house, log barns attached in a T-form.
46	23.4	North - Lower Dacre, cemetery.
47	23.45	North - square-timber 1½-storey house, log barns with lapped joints, round logs.
48	23.5	South - farmstead, log barns, three houses.
49	23.75	South - hip-roof house, board barns.
50	24.0	South - log barns, 2-storey hip-roof house.
51*	24.35	North and south - Dacre village (a crossroads village), 12 houses mainly clapboard, hipped roof, and gable with end to street, Large 1½-storey house on S.W. corner was possibly a hotel, church on northern road, school (brick 1912) on southern road.

See milepost route Addendum #1 for road south to Mount St. Patrick and #2 for road north to Balaclava.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
52	24.85	North - square-timber log house.
53	25.05	South - log barns, frame house.
54	25.7	North - farmstead, log barns, 1½-storey frame house.

The original route deviates to the northwest here and rejoins a travelled road at the old Opeongo line east off of Highway 41.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
55	21.65	North - farmstead, log barns, house, original route runs to north in front of house.
56	21.9	East - farmstead, log barns.

The milepost route turns north onto Highway 41 and then east on the old Opeongo road. The old road is one of the best representations of a late 19th-century farming-lumbering landscape, with its numerous log-constructed farmsteads.
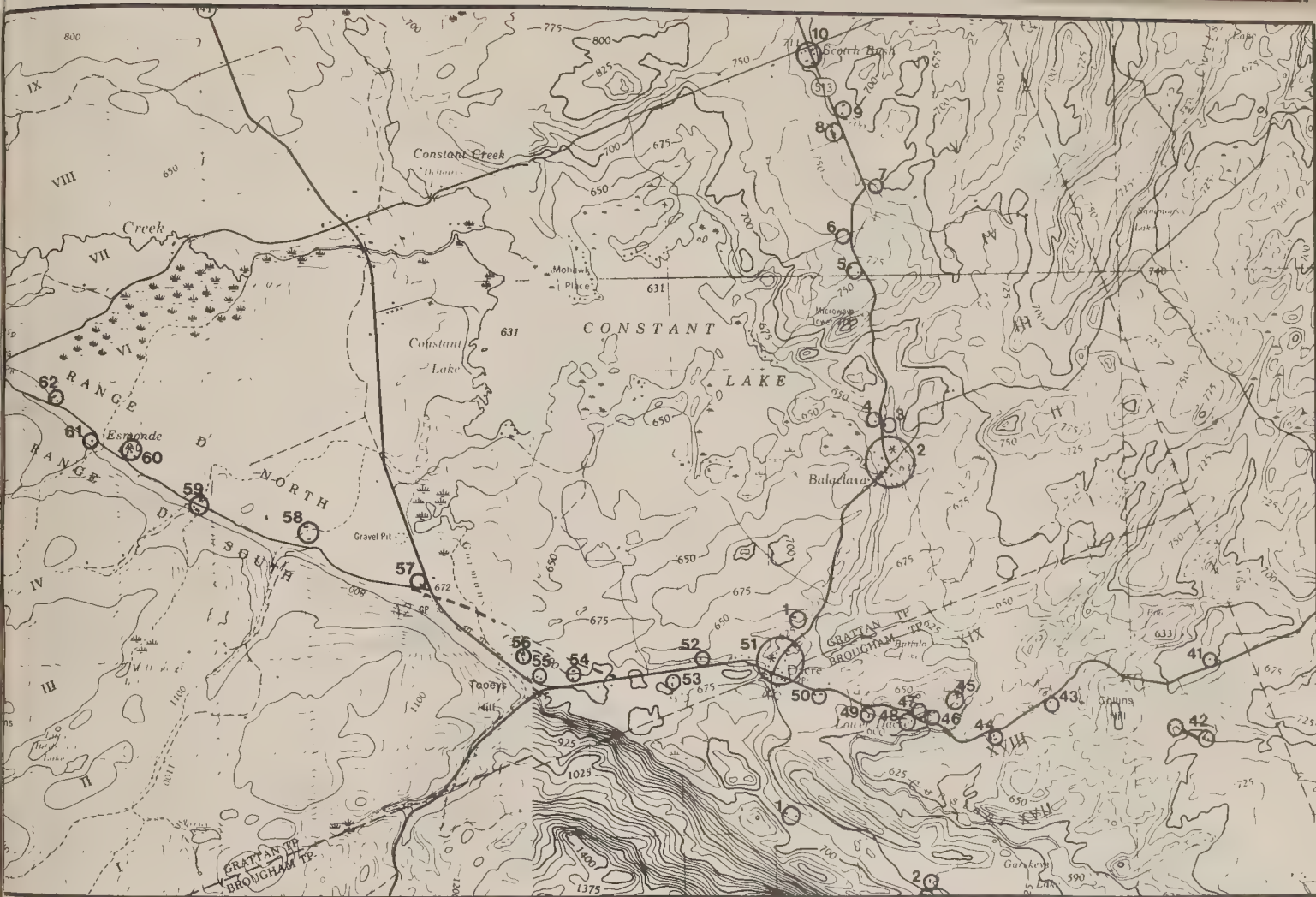
OPEONGO ROAD, sites 41 to 62
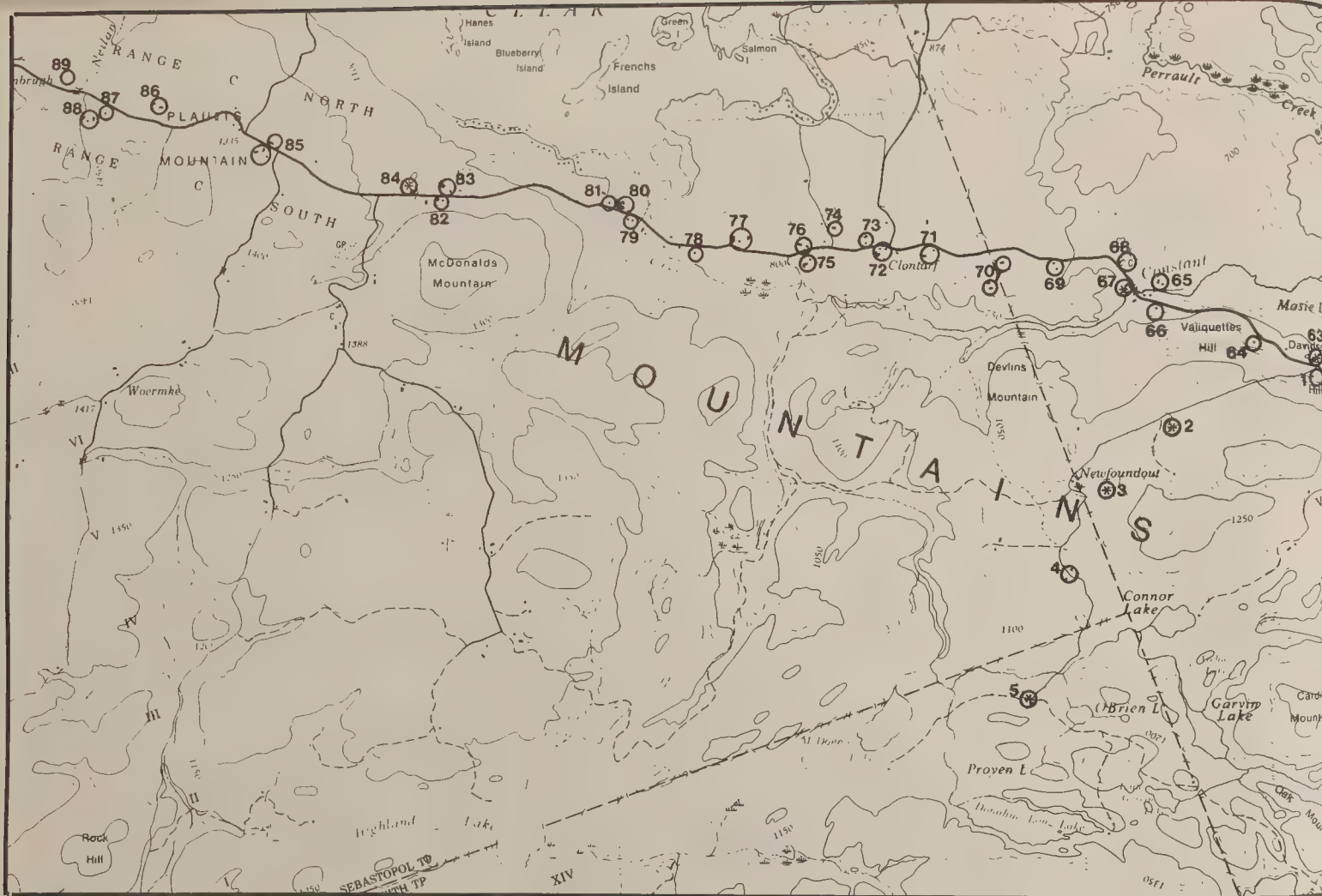
OPEONGO ROAD, sites 63 to 89

The road, although widened and straightened, is still dirt and gravel and the original road line is often visible to the left or right. Some of the loveliest scenery in the colonization-road area appears on this section of the road stretching from Highway 41 to Barry's Bay and climbing the Opeongo Mountains.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
57	22.8	North – clapboard house, site of former stopping-place.
58	23.7	North – frame house, five log barns, three board barns.
59	24.5	North and south – farmstead, large complex with two roads cutting through, farm house, three log barns, two log sheds.
60*	25.1	North – Esmonde (a road village), stone church, 1890, cemetery, white frame house, insul-brick community centre, Curry farmstead (abandoned) formerly Esmonde post office, square-timber house, two barns, pigsty and shed, all log.
61	25.3	South – frame house.
62	25.7	North – frame house, log barns and sheds.
63*	26.1	North – Davidson Century farm, four log barns attached in a U-form, attached log

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		sheds, smoke-house shed, stucco hip-roof house, log barn.

To the south runs a connecting side-road to Newfoundout. See Addendum #3 for its milepost route.

64	26.55	South – square-timber house, old foundation, log barns, original route runs on south side, closer to farm.

Beginning of Clontarf, a road settlement.

65	27.35	North – Valliquette's white house, log-covered in clapboard, attached barns.
66	27.35	South – clapboard house, log shanty-style building behind.
67*	27.55	South – Raycroft Century farm, square-timber 1½-storey house, log barns.
68	27.75	North – St. Clement's Anglican Church 1892 and cemetery, original route ran in front of the church, reforested section around church.
69	28.25	South – farm house, log barns.
70	28.65	South – board barn with diamond-shaped windows, farmstead behind with square-timber house, row of attached log barns, original route visi-

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		ble to north here.
71	29.25	South - O'Brien farm, concrete block flat-top 2-storey house, T-shaped attachment of log barns.
72	29.55	North - Clontarf cross-road to Eganville.
		South - general store, log barns attached.
73	29.75	North - board barn and farm house.
74	29.95	North - insul-brick house, 12 log outbuildings, attached.
75	30.15	South - brick farm house, gingerbread detailing, log barns.
76	30.15	North - farm house, aluminum cladding, six log barns in row attachment.
77	30.7	North - concrete-block flat-top house, (approx. 1912) board-and-batten shed, board barn, original road ran to north, in front of house.
78	30.9	South - two log barns, one is a half-barn with double door on one end of the structure.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
79	31.4	South - 2-storey insul-brick houses, six board barns.
80	31.5	North - St. John's Lutheran cemetery.
81	31.6	North - house, one log barn, three board outbuildings.
82	32.9	South - white shiplap house, board shed.
83	32.9	North - stucco house, square, flat-top roof, two barns.
84*	33.15	North - Lutheran Church, white asbestos-covered steeple at front, possibly log underneath, small cemetery.
85	34.25	South - 2-storey hip-roof farm house, aluminum siding, one board and frame, one log barn, large-gable frame barn with side aisle, almost square.
		North - one board shed.
86	35.25	North - abandoned farmstead, derelict house, frame 1½-storey, two large gambrel-roof barns.
87	35.6	South - frame house, row of attached barns stepped down hill.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
88	35.75	South – farmstead, large complex, white aluminum-clad house, L-shaped attachment of log, board, board-and-batten outbuildings.
89	35.9	North – stone foundation of farm house, three log building ruins, old orchard.

Road settlement of Vanbrugh commences.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
90	36.45	South – shanty-style log building with sloped roof, part of farm with newer buildings.
91*	37.25	North – old square-timber school house, inhabited, board barn.
92	37.75	South – log barn, farm house, cedar shakes, board barn.
93	37.9	South – large farm complex, log and board barns, original route runs to south beside this farm.

The original route deviates here and continues in a westerly direction, while the travelled route turns north and joins Highway 512. The Opeongo route rejoins the travelled road in approximately 2.5 miles.

Road settlement called Foymount was once here.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
94	39.7	South – farmstead, log barn of end-log construction.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
95	39.95	South – 1½-storey farm house, two log barns, one a half barn with double door at end of one side.
96	41.25	South – farmstead, stucco house, five log barns, three board sheds.
97	41.45	North – Abandoned board house, six log barns in row-attachment.
98	41.7	South – ruins of log barn and house.
99	41.95	South – two log barns, one frame house gable-end to road, side and transom lights around door.
100*	42.05	South – frame school house.
101	43.0	North – farm house covered with asbestos siding and shingles, four log barns, three board sheds, outbuildings in a row-attachment.
102	44.0	South – O'Malley farm, 2-storey farm house, log and board barns, old road line visible in front of farm.
103	44.4	South – insul-brick house, one board barn, four log barns attached.
104	44.6	South – frame house, three board sheds.

Brudenell - a cross-roads village where the Peterson Junction road joins the Opeongo. See Addendum #4 for milepost route of Peterson Junction road.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
105	44.85	South - Whelan house, stone foundation, 1½-storey, three dormers, gutted log barn.
106*	44.9	South - Costello hotel, frame, lattice-work on verandah, side and transom lights surround door.
107*	44.95	South - large commercial building, boom-town front.
108*	44.95	North - small commercial building, boom-town front.
	45.05	South - milepost route for road to south, Addendum #4.
109	45.05	North - two farmsteads, 1½-storey houses, log barns, on Highway 512.

Opeongo road surface is again dirt and gravel west of this corner.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
110	45.3	North - frame, insul-brick house, stone foundation, log barn.
111	45.4	North - frame, insul-brick house, log barn.
112	45.7	North - frame, insul-brick farm house, log barns, bell-cast gambrel roofs, stubby high proportions.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
113	45.9	North - farm house, log barns.
114	46.1	South - old insul-covered cottage.
115*	46.3	North - cut-stone church, St. Mary's Roman Catholic 1870, cemetery on both sides of road.
		South - *stone, square, flat-top manse, *large frame church hall.
	46.7	South - road on south to Rockingham. See Addendum #4.
116	47.25	South - frame house, log sheds, Century farm.
117	48.65	South - square-timber house covered with board, two log barns attached, board-and-batten granary.
118	49.15	South - insul-brick house, board-and-batten barn.
119	53.55	South - two log barns, ruin of log barns, insul-brick 1½-storey hip-roof house.
		North - insul-brick 2-storey hip-roof house.
120	54.15	South - two insul-brick houses with board barns.
121	54.5	South - frame farm house with gingerbread, two gambrel log barns.
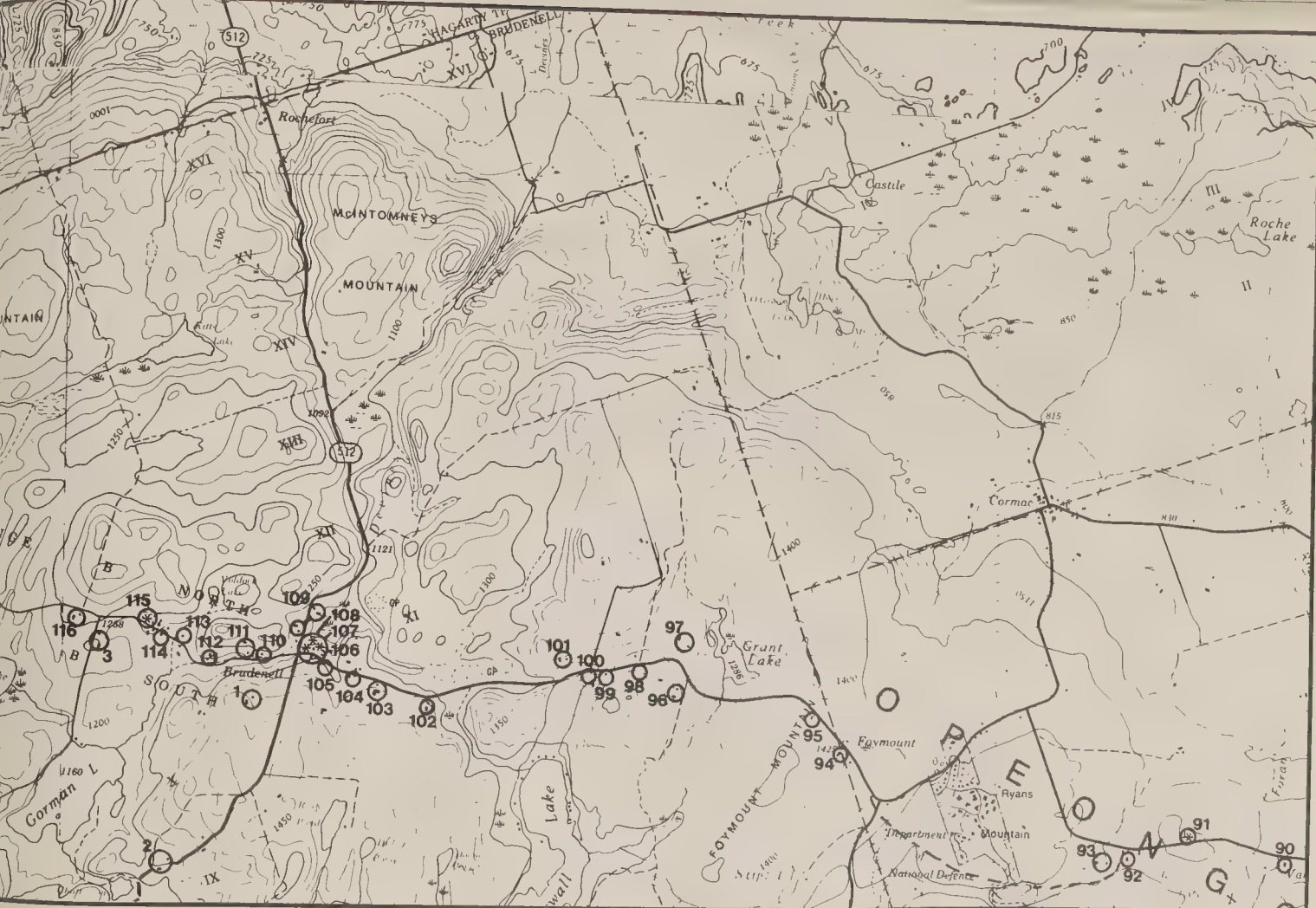
OPEONGO ROAD, sites 117 to 134

OPEONGO ROAD, sites 135 to 140
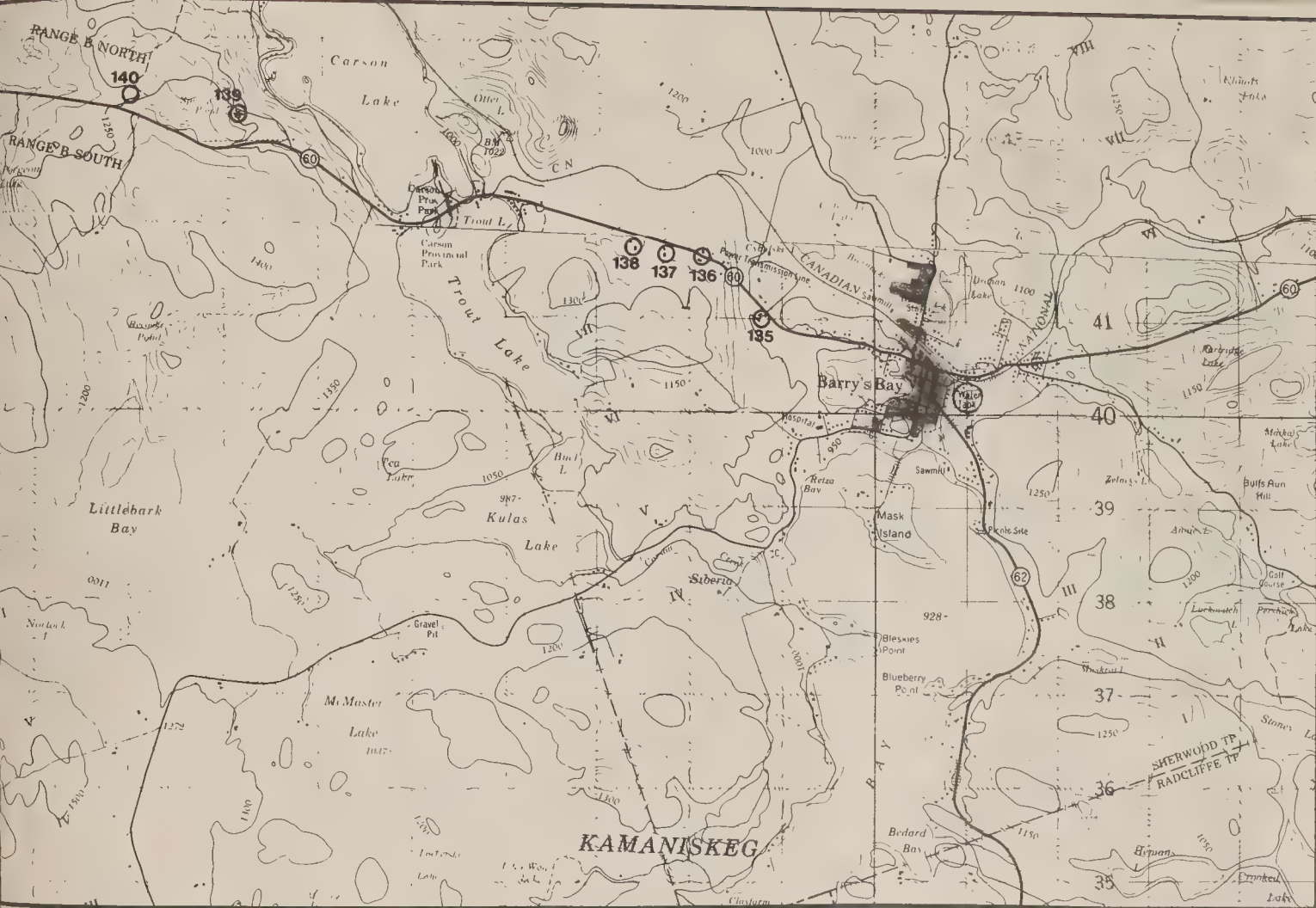
Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
122	54.65	South – log house, hipped roof, frame house, three square-timber log barns connected.
123	54.85	North – saw mill.

Settlement of Hopefield

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
124	55.2	North – 1½-storey frame house, three attached square-timber buildings, one large square-timber barn.
125	55.45	North – school house and large barns.
126	55.5	North – square-timber barn ruin.
127	56.05	South – saw mill.
128	56.95	North – saw mill, probably steam-powered.
		South – log barns.
129*	57.1	North – square-timber house, 1½-storey with gable over door, ginger-bread detailing (apparently once a stopping-place) log barns, wooden shingles, board sheds.
		South – square-timber barn, old orchard.
130	57.25	North – abandoned farmstead.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
131	59.05	South – stone fence, abandoned farm, frame house caved in, barn in ruins.
132	59.85	South – frame house, square-timber and board barn with three dormers, barns attached in an L-shape, house faces away from present road towards original route, stone counterweight on gate.
133	60.45	South – square-timber barns and sheds attached in a U-shaped courtyard.
134	60.55	South – ¼ mile from present road, farm house and four log barns.

The dirt road joins Highway 60 and runs into Barry's Bay. The railway station*, water tower*, and Balmoral Hotel in Barry's Bay date to or represent the colonization-road period of 1860-1890. West of Barry's Bay the old route is overlaid by Highway 60; sections of it are still visible in front of old farmsteads and the route loops north of Highway 60 at Bark Lake.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
135	65.75	South – large complex of log and square-timber barns, turn-of-century farm house.
136	66.35	North and south – large farmstead with log structures.
137	66.6	South – small log structure.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
138	66.8	South – small log structure.
139*	69.8	South – Bark Lake post office, square-timber farm house, post office (formerly) three square-timber out-buildings.
140	70.6	North – a small log shed with scoop roof, of recent construc-tion.

Addendum #1: Mount St. Patrick Road

This section of road runs from Dacre south to Kennel-lys Mountain; it is part of an old trail that connected the Bonnechere and Madawaska Rivers. The route predates the Opeongo; squatters used it to come into Gratton township in the 1830's. Mount St. Patrick was the site of the first Opeongo colonization office in the 1850's.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
1	1.0	West – farmstead, log barns at-tached in T-shape.
2	2.1	East and west – farm house, board and log barns attached in L-shape.
3	2.65	West – two farmsteads, route of old road runs in front of farms, attached log barns, stone fence.
4	3.35	West – row of log barns, no roof.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		East – reconstructed square-timber house.
5	4.6	West – square-timber house cov-ered with aluminum clad-ding, stone foundation, several square-timber barns.
	5.4	East – cross-roads, turn east to Mount St. Patrick.
6	6.0	North – farm house, fan-shaped vent over door, square-timber barn.

Village of Mount St. Patrick

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
7*	6.2 – 6.6	North – three flat-top houses (cir-ca 1919), general store and tea room, 2-storey gambrel-roof barn gable-end to road, large windows, recessed door, side addition; Con-stant Creek, school, com-munity centre, manse, all flat-topped, Mount St. Pat-rick Church 1869, addition 1929, cemetery.
		South – across from church 1½-sto-rey frame house, side fac-ing road, large 1½-storey house with centre gable, probably log covered with shiplap, back addition is log (possibly a hotel) at-tached row of barns with wooden shingles, Constant
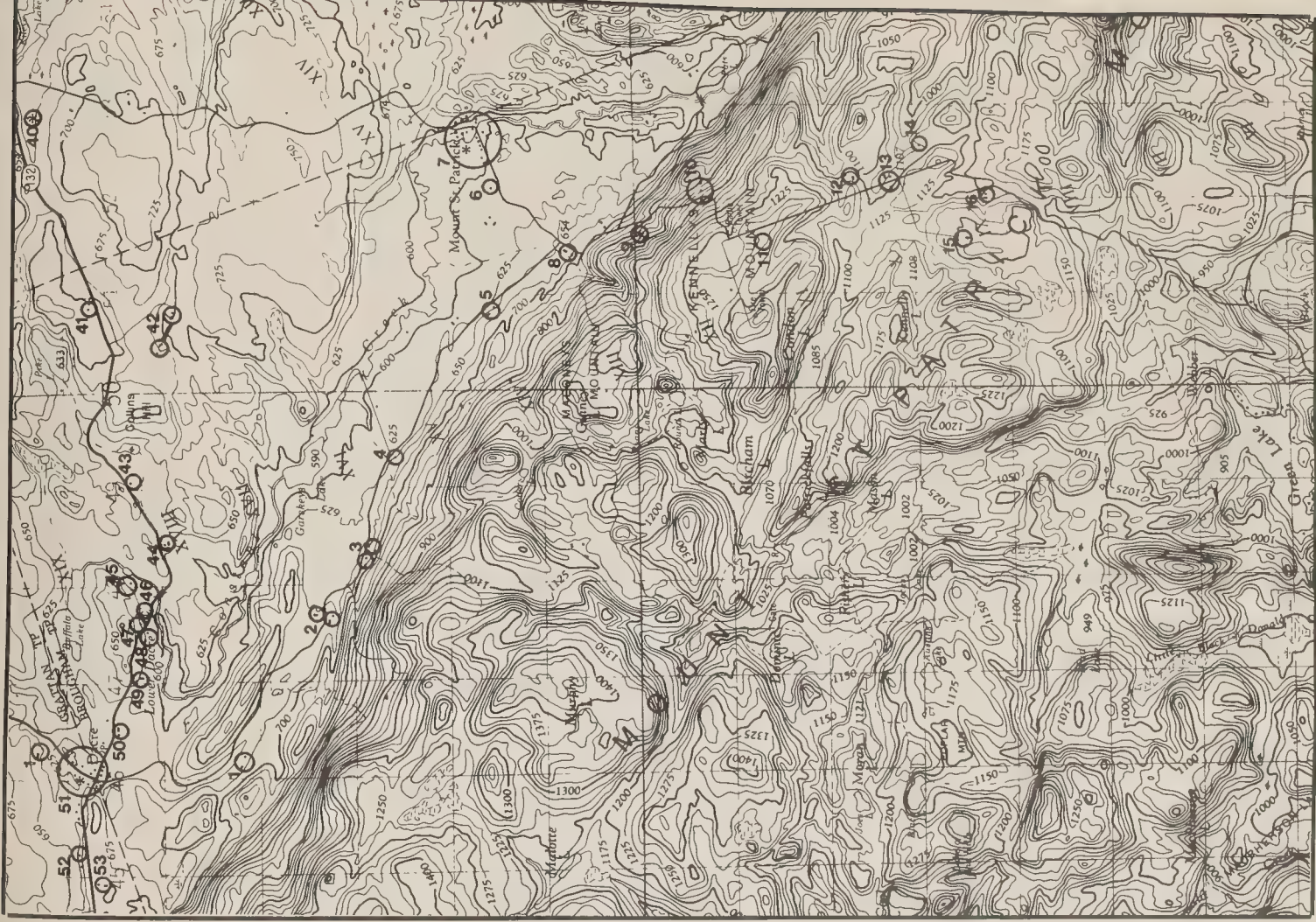
MOUNT ST. PATRICK ROAD, sites 1 to 16

BALACLAVA ROAD, sites 1 to 10

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		Creek, small log commercial-type building with gable-end to street, farmstead 1½-storey frame house, collection of log barns attached in an L-shape.

Return to cross-roads at 5.4.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
8	5.5	West - cross-roads, farmstead, six barns, four connected in a U-shape.
9	5.8	East - farmstead, eight barns, three attached, house.
*		West - saw mill.

Kennellys Mountain.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
10	6.6	East and west - clapboard farm house with gingerbread detailing, log barns, stone and rail fences.
11	7.15	West - farmstead, board-and-batten house, two log barns.
12	7.95	East - farmstead, 1½-storey house, log barns
13	8.2	East and west - farmstead, four old log barns, house, hipped roof, 2-storey, attached barns.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
14	8.5	East - abandoned house, log barns.
15	8.8	West - ½ mile from road, farmstead with log buildings.
16	9.15	West - square-timber farm house, log barns, wooden shingles, rail fences.

Addendum #2: Balaclava Road

This section runs from Dacre cross-roads north to Scotch Bush and is part of a road running from the Bonnechere River to the Madawaska River (see Addendum #1).

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
	0.0	Dacre cross-roads.
1	0.4	West - insul-brick farm house, board barns.

Balaclava village (main street still intact).

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
2*	1.65 - 1.8	East and west - large water-power mill at edge of Lake Constant, dam, 2-storey mill, sawdust burner, timber sheds, elevated wooden walkway. General store and and attached storage building, frame, four houses (probably post-1900), hipped roof, 1½-storey gable, one with gable-end to street, ruin of barn, round logs, notched corners, axe

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		marks.
3	2.1	East – square-log house, white-washed.
4	2.2	West – abandoned farmstead, house, board-and-batten front, square timbers show at back, wooden shingles, large board barn raised on foundation, a door on each level, wooden shingles, round log cross-beams, shed with timber sled.
5	3.3	East – farmstead, frame house with gingerbread detailing, board barns, diamond windows, wooden shingles, field-stone fences, two joined barns.
6	3.6	East – log barns, stone fence, house.
7	3.9	East – log barn ruin.
8	4.45	West – huge T-shaped attached barns, farm house.
9	4.6	East – insul-brick 1½-storey house, log barns, stone and log fences.
10	5.1	Scotch Bush – old barns, church, three houses.

Addendum #3: Newfoundout Road

This road runs south from mile 26.1 on the Opeongo and is an example of connecting side-road development. There were once 13 families living on this road; it is now practically abandoned. Road condition approximates 19th-century colonization roads.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
1	0.1	South – board-and-batten house, in disrepair.
	0.4	– stone fences, view of valley.
2*	1.2	South – abandoned farmstead, huge boulders litter the field, several log structures, double barn, small shed, wooden-shingle roof, foundation of house with cellar evident, two small-barn foundations, one good example of a banked-barn construction.
3*	1.7	South – cleared fields, farm set back from road, stone fence, L-shaped log barns, small farm house, door and one window on front, shed.
4	2.5	Both sides – two log barns, attached, wooden-shingle roof
5*	3.4	Both sides – tall barn, galvanized roof, bottom-hinged door, two log barns, two sheds with scoop roof.
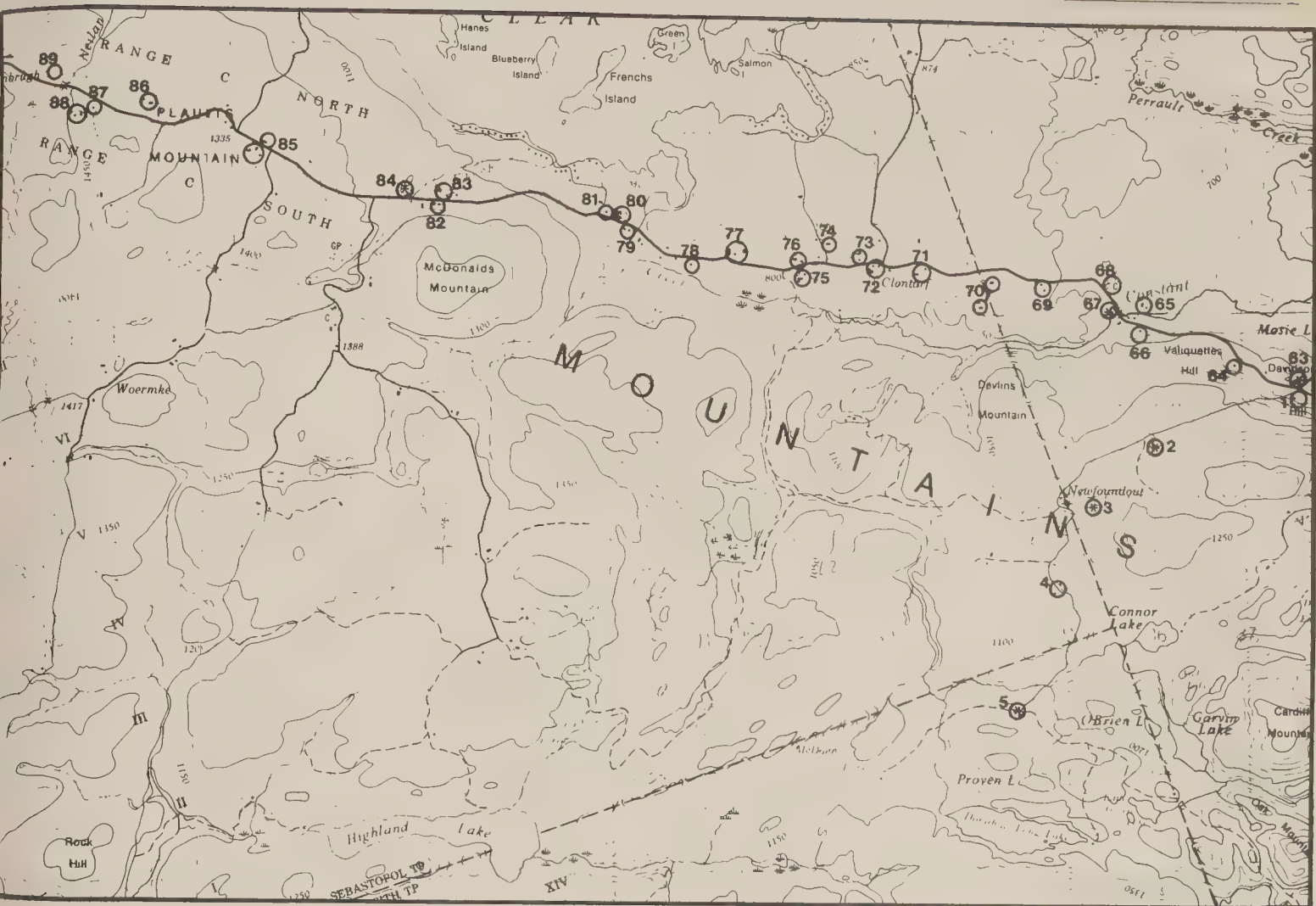
NEWFOUNDOUT ROAD, sites 1 to 5
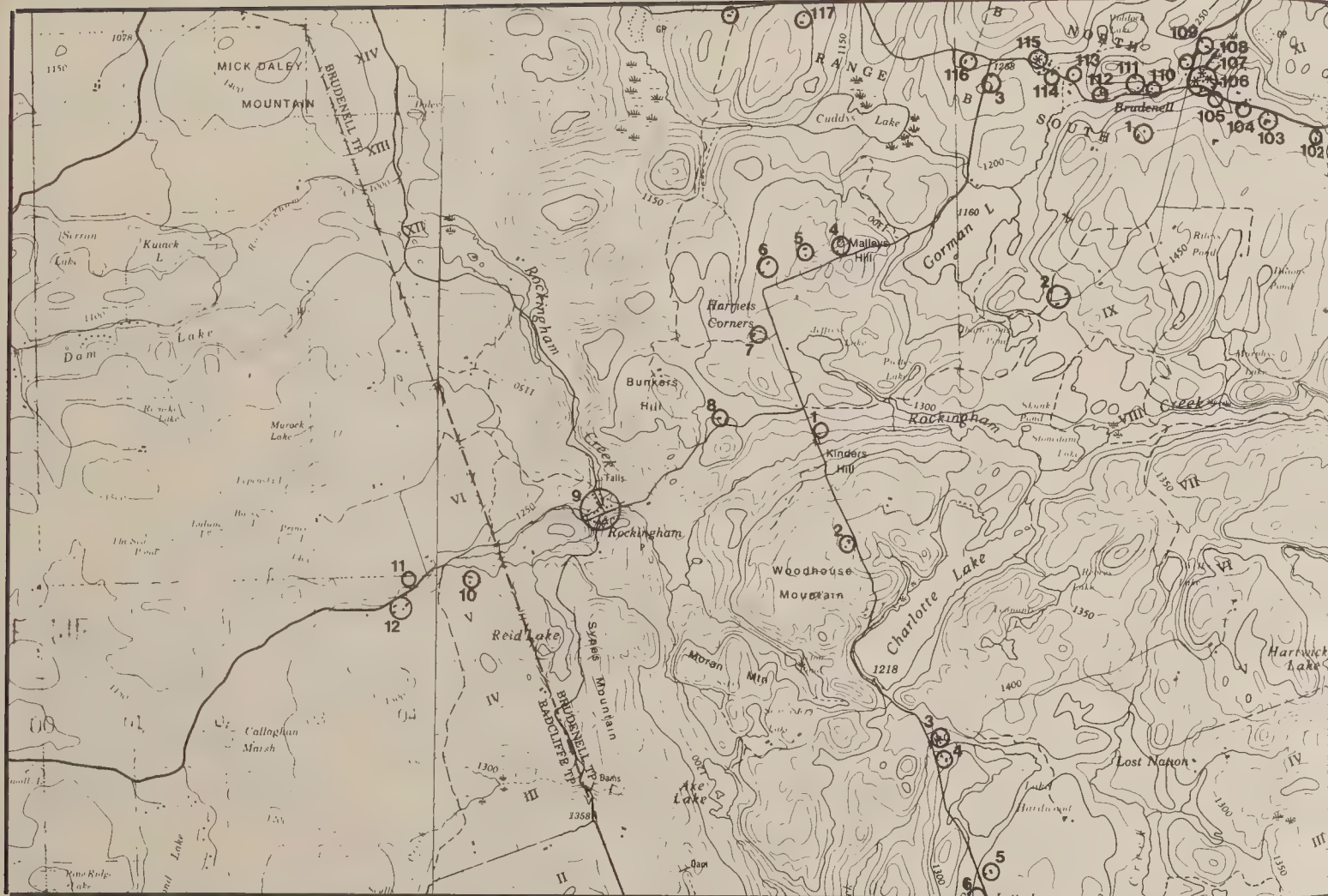
PETERSON JUNCTION ROAD, Sites 1 to 12

Addendum #4: Peterson Junction Road

This road runs south from Brudenell to Combermere. Originally it came into Brudenell at the cross-roads with Highway 512, now the route is to the west at mile 46.7 on the Opeongo. This road is winding and dirt-gravel-surfaced and has many log farmsteads, closely representing a 19th-century farming and lumbering landscape.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)		Description
Original route.			
	0.0		– Brudenell cross-roads.
1	0.4	West	– three log barns, 2-storey frame house.
2	1.5	Both sides	– at end of road, farm, 2-storey flat-top house, two log barns with wooden shingles.
Present route.			
	0.0		– Opeongo road at mile 46.7.
3	0.15	West	– 1½-storey square-timber house, two attached barns.
4	1.85	West	– square-timber house, five outbuildings.
5	2.1	West	– six log outbuildings attached in a row, possibly log farm house (covered), orchard.
6	2.4	West	– square timber house, six log barns, large assemblage.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)		Description
7	2.8	West	– small frame house, lumber shed, board-and-batten shed.
	3.4		– road rejoins Peterson route and continues west toward Combermere.
8	4.0	North	– old log house, now a barn.
Village of Rockingham.			
9*	5.0	North	– Rockingham side-road, general store, house on corner, several board barns, old square-timber school, now a home.
		South	– St. Leonard's Church set on side of hill, board-and-batten, steeple, cemetery with stone of John S.J. Watson, founder of Rockingham.
10	6.1	South	– farm on hill, large log barn on stone foundation, house.
11	6.5	North	– log barns attached.
12	6.6	South	– three log barns, frame house, ruins of log barns.
13	10.8	North	– farmstead, log barns and snake-rail fence over stone.
	13.1		– Combermere village.

89

Addington Road

This road originally went from Clareview to Denbigh and later an extension was built to the Peterson Junction road. The road south of Denbigh has been overlaid by a highway, although small sections of the original road still remain. North of Denbigh the road disappears until a point south of Quadeville.

The section of the Addington colonization road running from the Peterson Junction road south past Quadeville has been recorded as a milepost route. The dirt road is narrow and winding but far straighter than a colonization road. The route is lined by farmsteads and rail fences divide the fields. Like the old Opeongo road, this section of the Addington gives us as close an approximation of a 19th-century farming and lumbering district as is available in the study area.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
	0.0	– turn off south from Peterson Junction road.
1	0.2	East – log barn, large frame farm house.
2	0.95	West – rail fences, farm house.
3*	2.45	East – Letterkenny Church and cemetery, white frame, shiplap with barge-board spools, stone foundation.
4	?.6	East – attached log barns – L-shape, hipped roof, 2-storey farm house.
5	3.4	East – farmstead with log barns.
6	3.5	West – farmstead with small log outbuildings, piles of boulders in centre of field.
7	3.75	West – abandoned farmstead, stone fences (site of measured barn).
8	3.85	East – log barns, stone fences.
9	4.15	West – attached log barns, square-timber, in double-L-shape, fields divided by rail fences.
	8.2	– Quadeville, post-1900 buildings, one square-timber farm house.
10	10.4	West – frame farm house, two log barns and shed, three frame sheds, ruin of log barns, stone fences.
11	11.0	East – two log barns, frame house, stone fence and snake-rail fence, board-and-batten sheds.
12	11.2	West – log house, stone fence.
13	11.4	East – two log barns, three board sheds, frame farm house.

ADDINGTON ROAD, sites 1 to 4
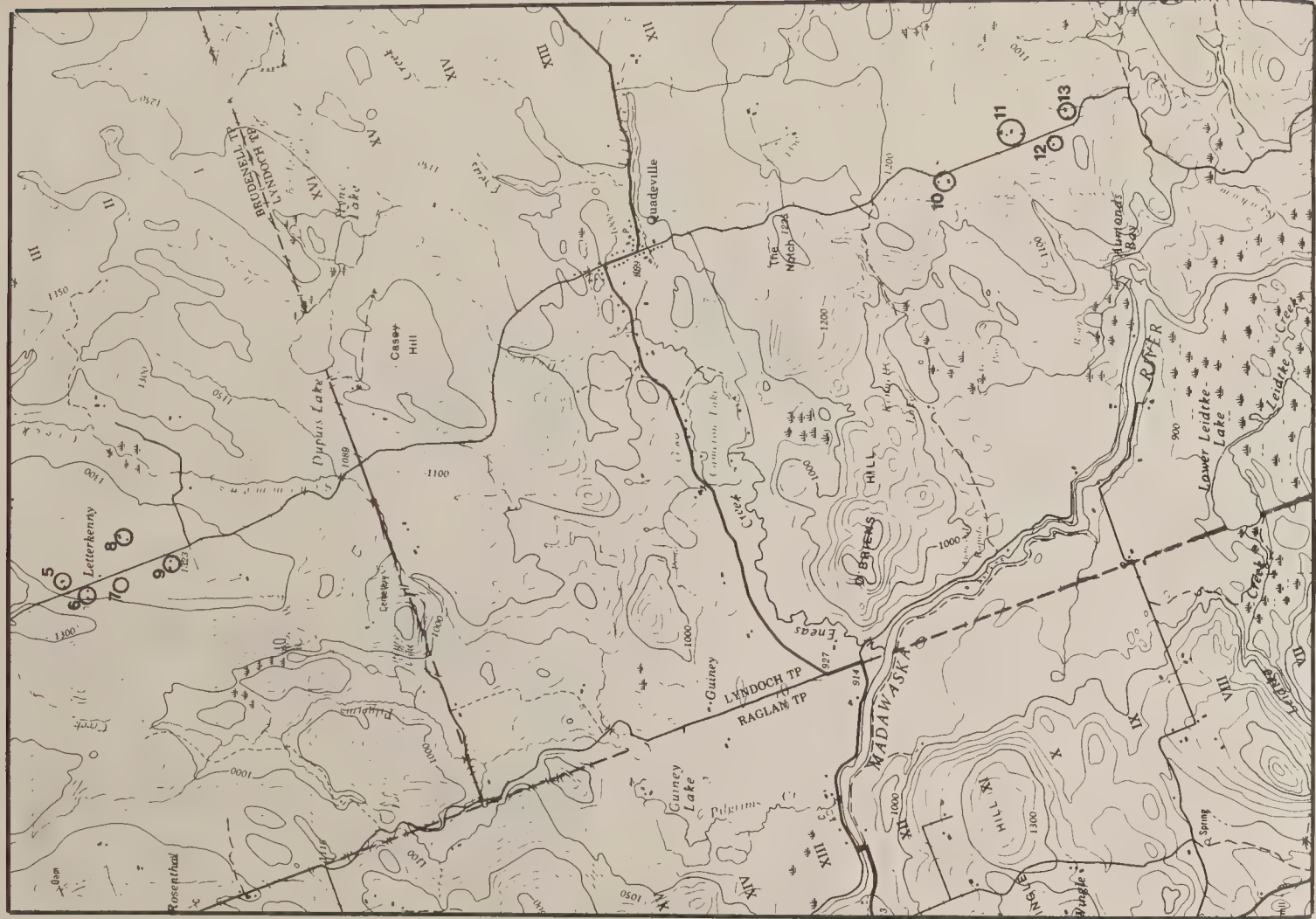
German Settlement Road

This road is an example of connecting side-road development in one of the few areas where conditions allowed the spread of settlement back from colonization roads. The rolling hills around Wilno have pockets of sandy loam soil and a gentle relief, making sowing and harvesting easier than for most colonization-road farms. The road is very scenic, offering views of the Bonnechere Valley. It is also on a scale that is closer to the original road; there is little modern development. It has a fine collection of log buildings. The route begins at the first side-road to the east of the Wilno cathedral, south off Highway 60.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
	0.0	- turnoff from Highway 60.
1	0.25	East - farmstead, five log barns, two log sheds, frame house, log-rail fences.
2	0.9	West - school house, frame.
3	0.95	East - brick house with gingerbread detailing.
		- cemetery and plaque for first Polish church 1875.
4*	1.1	East - abandoned farmstead, square-timber house, ten outbuildings, square-timber and board arranged in a courtyard.

Route turns east onto German Settlement road.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
5	2.4	South - four log barns, two board sheds, frame insul-brick house, stone fence.
6	3.0	South - on road to south, farmstead log house and barns.
7	5.1	North and south - three square-timber barns, one shed, frame house, attached barns in an L-shape.
		- three board barns.
8	5.75	North and south - 1½-storey frame house, six outbuildings, log and board.
9	6.25	North and south - frame house, log barn and log and board outbuildings.
10	6.55	North - cemetery with German inscriptions.
11	6.75	South - 2-storey flat-top house, three log barns attached in a row.
		- saw mill.
12	6.95	North - Baptist church, brick and stone.
13	6.95	South - frame 2-storey house, log barn, corners numbered.
14	7.05	North - frame 2-storey house, log barns attached in an L-shape.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
15	7.25	North - frame 1½-storey house, log barns.
16	7.5	North - farmstead, numerous log barns.
17	8.0	South - huge rock piles in centre of field.
18	8.25	South - 1½-storey frame house, insul-brick, side and transom lights surround door, row of log buildings.
19	8.35	North - schoolhouse.

Route turns north on Highway 512 and ends at Killaloe.

Killaloe, a mill settlement.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
20*	8.5 - 8.8	North - farmstead, 2-storey frame house, one square-timber, two log outbuildings, farm houses, board barns.
		- Getz general store.
		- small log commercial building (now a home) gable-end to street.
		- Killaloe mill - formerly grist mill, 3-storey frame water-diverted-into-wheel house for overshot turbine.
		- square-timber house.

The road loops north to Highway 60.

Peterson Road

This section of the Peterson colonization road runs from Combermere to Maynooth. It is overlaid by Highway 62 and the route in no way resembles a 19th-century road. There are a number of modern developments such as new houses, restaurants and gas stations.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
	0.0	- bridge over the Madawaska River at Combermere.
1	0.0	South - east side of bridge, brick commercial building.
2	1.6	North - log barns, two connected sheds.
3	4.2	South - connected log barns.
4	4.7	South - frame building on stone foundation, possibly a church.
5	4.8	South - hip-roof, square-timber house, log barns.
6	5.0	North - cemetery.
7	5.1	North and south - farmstead, log barns, old square-timber farm house.
8	5.35	South - square-timber barn in farmstead.

GERMAN SETTLEMENT ROAD, sites 1 to 20
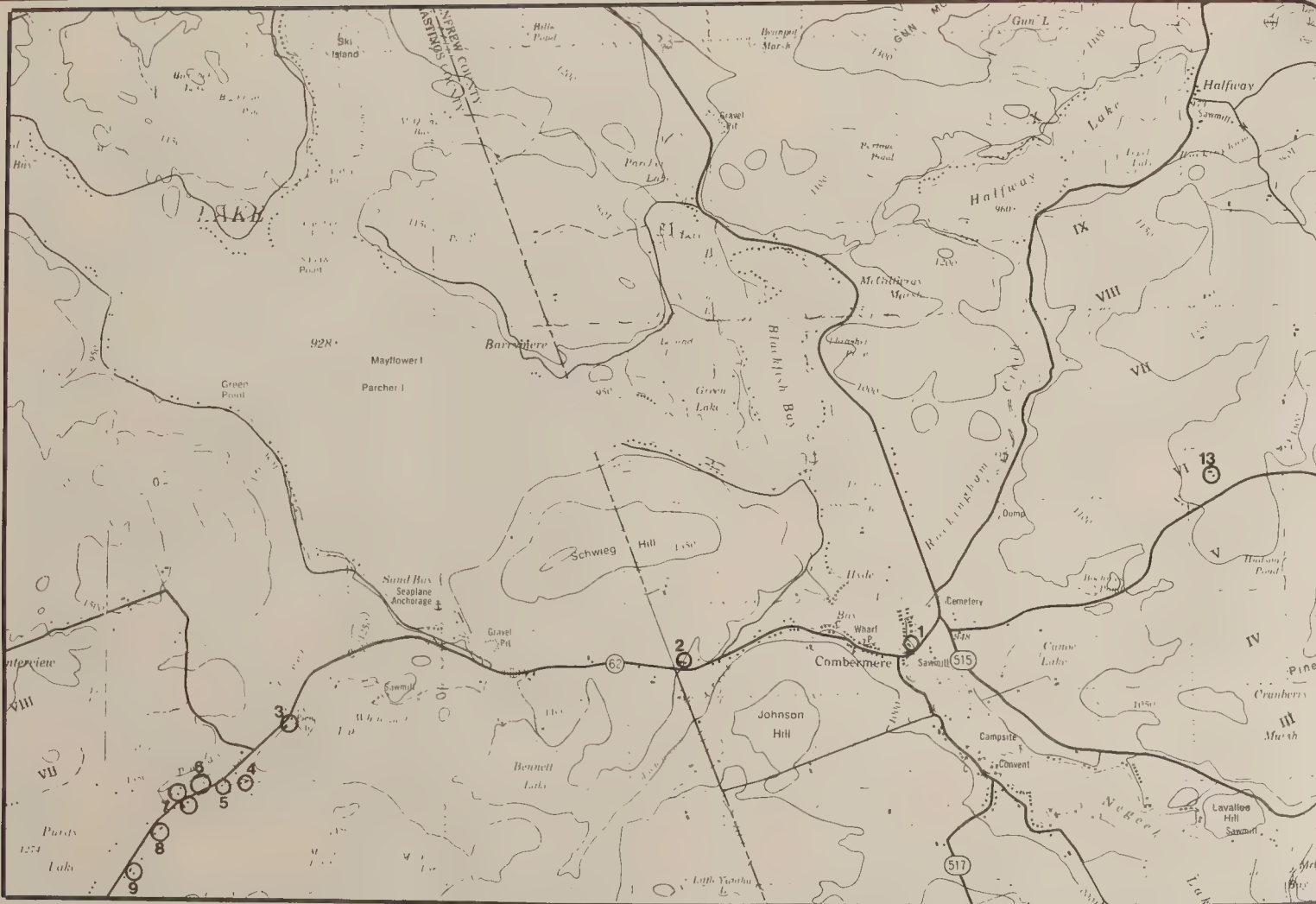
PETERSON ROAD, sites 1 to 9

PETERSON JUNCTION ROAD, site

PETERSON ROAD, sites 10 to 16
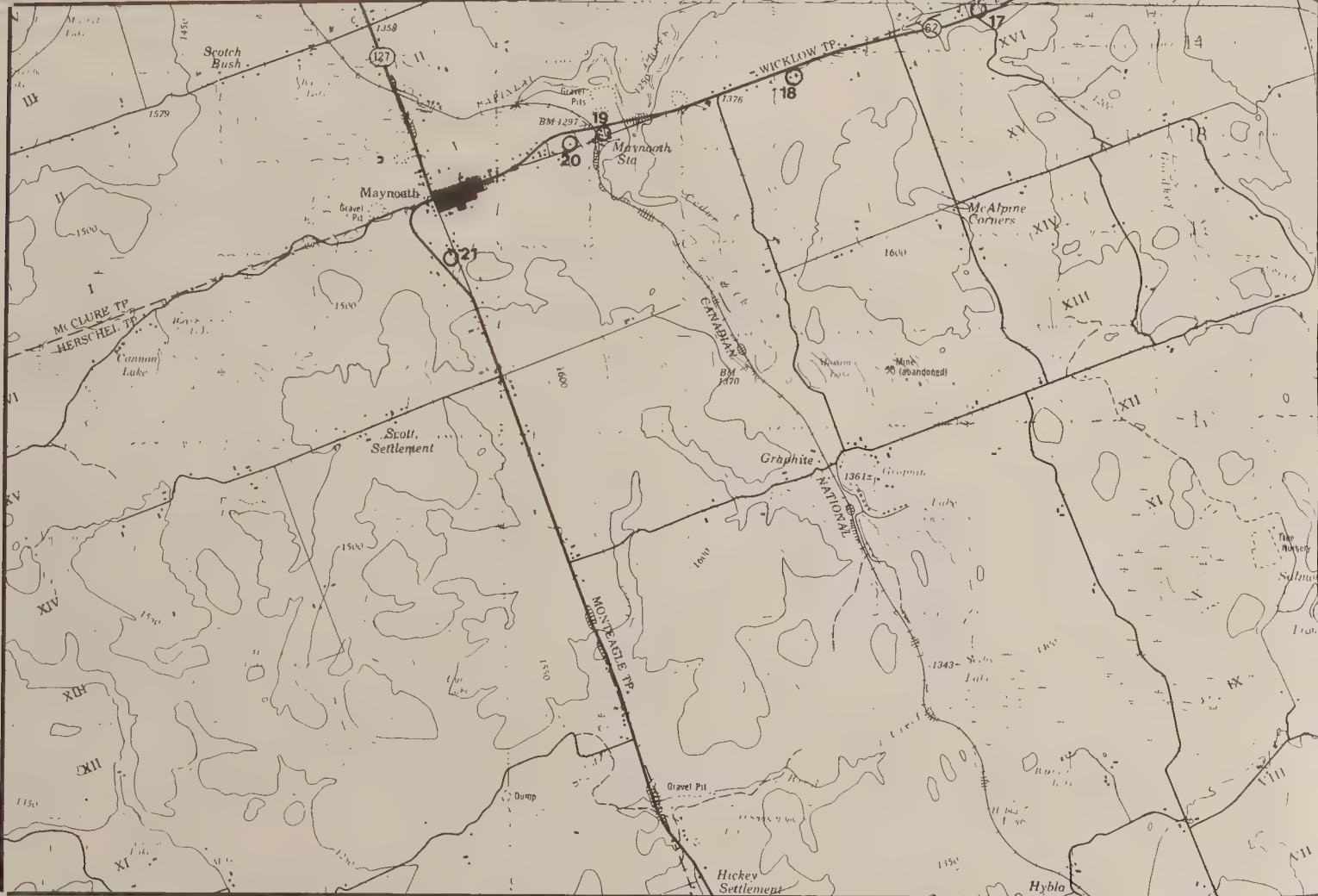
PETERSON ROAD, sites 17 to 21

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
9	5.7	South – frame house, log barns.
10	6.1	South – old farmstead, attached barns.
11	7.0	North – log barns.
12	7.0	South – square-timber barn.
13	7.7	North – square-timber barn.
14	7.8	North – log barn.
15	7.8	South – square-timber barn.
16	13.2	North – Maple Leaf saw mill.
17	15.4	North – Lutheran church and cemetery.
18	16.7	South – frame farm house, square-timber and log barn.
19	18.1	South – Maynooth station, large hip-roof house, possibly old hotel, log barns, station house.
20	18.3	South – board-and-batten farm house used to be on old route. – Maynooth cross-roads settlement. – old Hastings road
21	19.6	West – frame farm house, log barn,

boom-town front on frame building.

Hastings Road

The Hastings road, which runs from Madoc to the Opeongo, has retained little of its 19th-century appearance. The section between Madoc and L'Amable was abandoned quite early, when a deviation was built in the 1870's to the east of the original road. The old road from Millbridge to L'Amable is much like the original, with its winding and tortuous route but the forest has grown up so completely on either side that it is difficult to recall that the whole road line was once settled by farmers. The areas around Millbridge and Glanmire have a few farmsteads but these do not suggest the 19th century in their appearance as much as those on the Opeongo.

North of Bancroft, the road is submerged under a new highway and, north of Maynooth, it disappears altogether.

Only the central portion of the Hastings road has been recorded in the form of a route map. The early settlers who took out the initial grants discovered that, contrary to their expectations, the land in this region was not suitable for agricultural development. Structures were built to house families; however, the people left only a few years after they arrived. While their dwellings remained, the fences were taken apart for wood and the remainder fell down from neglect. Only the portion of the Hastings road with recognizable traces of settlement has been recorded.

The Hastings road is included in the Milepost Route section to provide a contrast to the Opeongo road. Although each road was at one time equally important, the Opeongo provides by far a clearer representation of this 19th-century agricultural landscape.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		Hastings road south to Murphy's Corners, starting on Hastings road turnoff from Highway 62.
1	0.1	West - stonework fence.
2	0.5	East - wooden-rail fence.
3	1.0	West - stone fence and clearing, no visible farm.
4	1.2	West - fence and road, goes uphill.
5	1.8	West - fence joins travelled road.
6	2.1	East - ruins from log building, three buildings, board barn still standing.
7	3.1	West - fireplace and chimney, new?
8	3.11	- creek.
9	4.4	East - rail fence.
10	4.7	East - log-building ruins, note small logs.
11	4.8	East - farmstead, log house, poor condition, large logs.
12	8.6	East - log shed, poor condition.
		West - stone foundation ruins.
13	9.7	West - school house, not old.
	9.8	- Ormsby cross-roads.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
14	9.9	East - church, frame.
15	9.95	East - church, brick, 1904.
16	10.0	East and west - fence.
17	10.8	East - log shed.
18	13.6	East - two corner posts from shed, small logs.
19	14.2	East - rail fence, one log barn, two log sheds, bits of frame home.
20	14.35	East - cemetery.
21	14.9	East - log cabin, now garage.
22	15.5	East - log house.

Murphy's Corners.

Beginning at Glanmire cemetery and going south on Hastings road. Note - rail fences.

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
23	0.0	East - cemetery and steps to church.
24	0.1	East - farm, 2-storey frame house, L-shaped, three log barns, two sheds, outhouses, etc.
25	0.2	- concrete bridge.

HASTINGS ROAD, sites 1 to 16
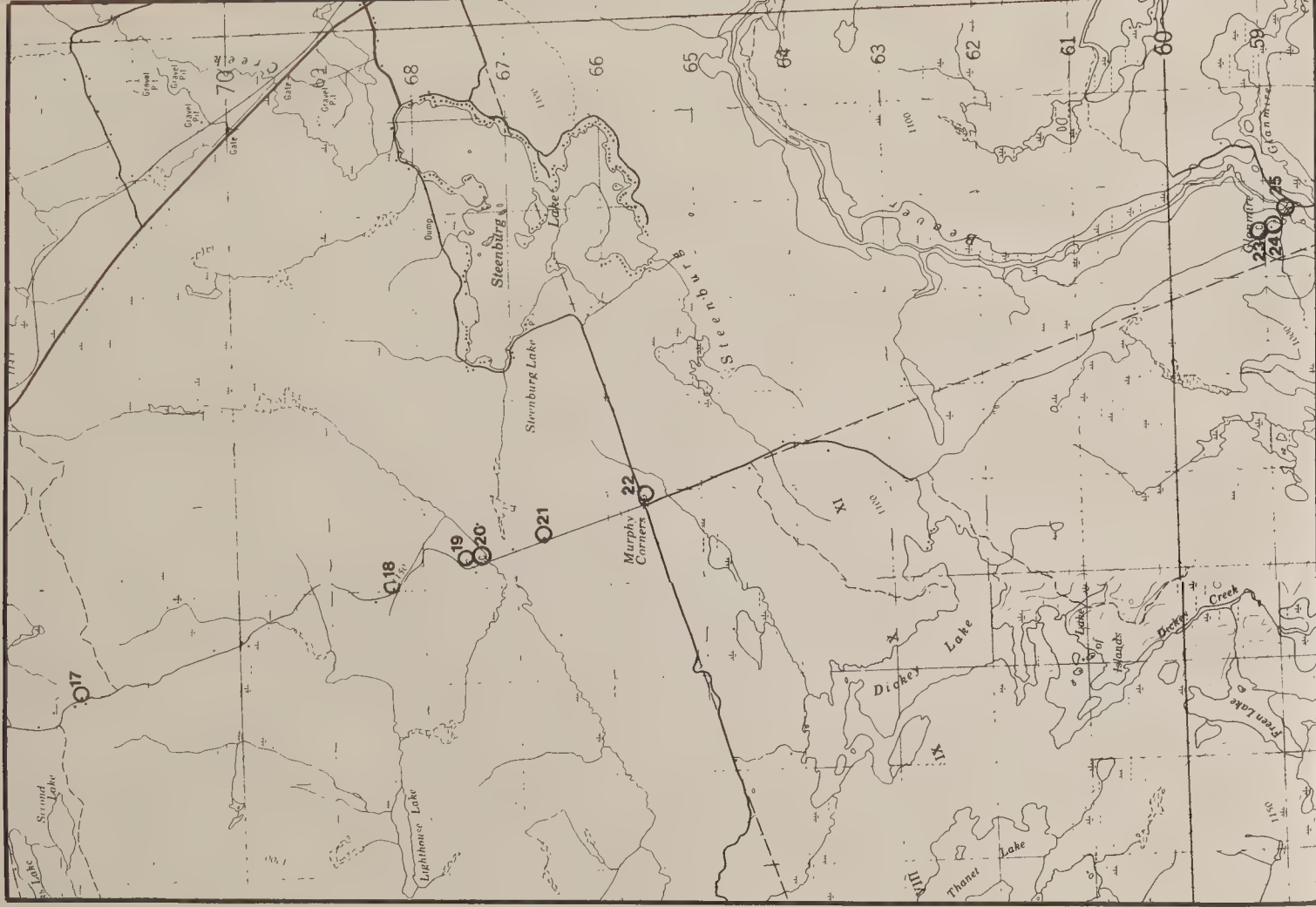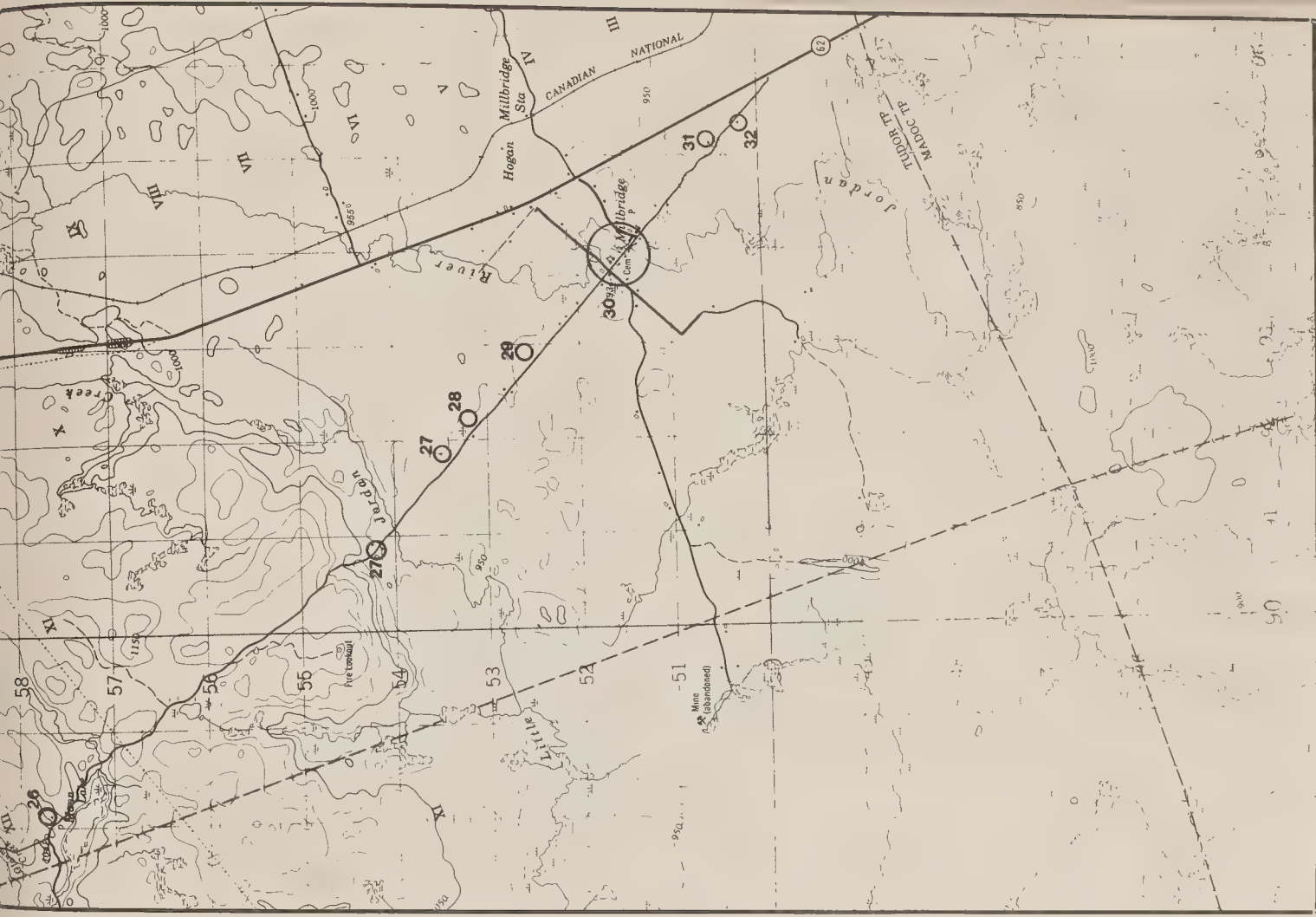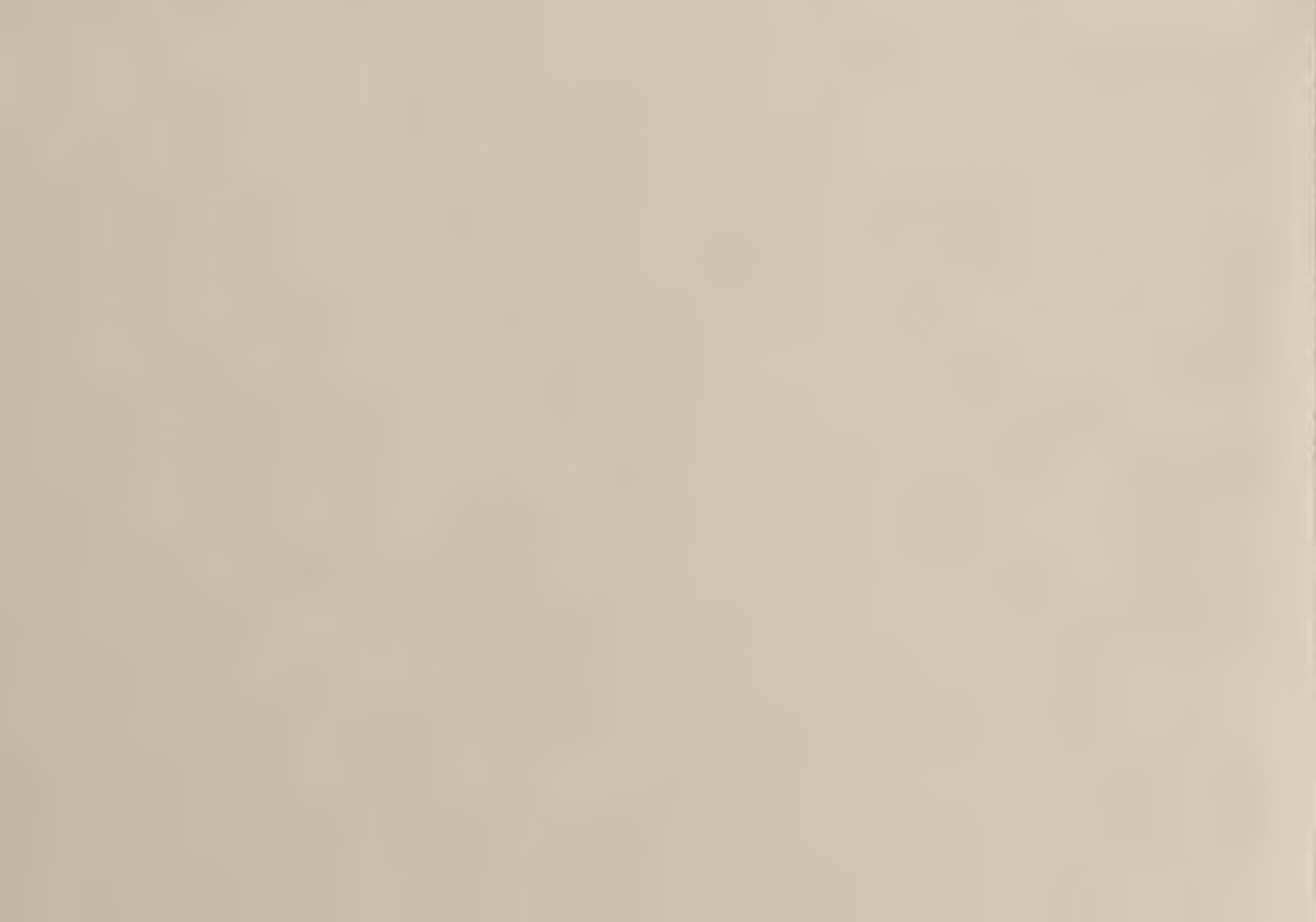
HASTINGS ROAD, sites 26 to 32

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
	0.3	East – road to Glanmire Lake.
26	0.95	East – frame, insul-brick house. Note: not very old.
27	4.8	East – farm, log, poor details, board shacks, no dovetails.
28	5.2	East – fallen-down log building.
29	5.8	East – run-down log house.
		West – rail fences.
30	6.3	– Millbridge cross-roads.
	6.35	East – cemetery, church, community hall, brick.
	6.4	West – squarish building, many windows, maybe hotel.
	6.5	– bridge.
		West – brick 2-storey house.
	6.6	West – frame house, good porch, detailing.
	6.65	East – red-brick, Anglican church.
	6.65	East – snake-rail fence along road.
31	7.4	East – aluminum-covered 2-storey house, frame?, note old brick chimneys.
32	7.6	West – fallen-down shed, board

Site Number	Mileage (approximate)	Description
		with cedar shingles.
	8.0	– end of road.

Note: what looks like the road continues on east side of highway but nothing is visible, fences etc.

58. *Killaloe mill.*

Catalogue of Sites

The catalogue of sites provides detailed description, drawings and photographs of selected resources along colonization roads. The sites described are unique, outstanding or typical examples of 19th-century architecture and settlement patterns.

Noted at the beginning of each description is the historical stage of development that the site best represents. Any elements of the four pattern organizers (land, roads, demarcations and buildings) that are represented by the site are also noted. All the sites here are on the Opeongo road or on roads closely connected to the Opeongo. There are no sites described from the western Peterson or Hastings roads.

The site catalogue is arranged spatially, starting with the easternmost site and moving westward along the Opeongo, with the sites from other roads following. Exact locations are given in the Milepost Route section preceding the Catalogue of Sites. Site numbers refer to numbers used on the milepost route.

Shamrock Farmstead

Site #40 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
            Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields returning to
                          forest
         Roads   - Opeongo road, side-road to
                          Mount St. Patrick
         Demarcations   - abandoned farmstead
                        - road deviation
                        - tree and stone fence lines
         Buildings   - "second house", square-timber
                          outbuildings.

The Shamrock farmstead is an abandoned farm on mile 20.8 of the Opeongo road just west of a side-road to Mount St. Patrick. The site is a good example of a typical farm from the 1860-1890 era. The original route of the Opeongo road runs in front of the farmstead, giving an excellent illustration of the original siting of farm and road.

The original Opeongo road is visible about 65' to the north of the farm house. Grass-covered, the old road is lined on the south side by trees and a stone fence.

The 1½-storey farm house is square-timber with dovetail notching; the large-sized timbers denote an older building. Gable-ends are covered in board-and-batten and there is a chimney at either end. The house has a centre-staircase

59.   Shamrock farmstead, original route of Opeongo road, now
      abandoned, looking west.   Autumn 1976.

On the map:

Opeongo Road

2 gable windows, each end

central stairs

25'-7"

19'-3"

original route of Opeongo Road

barn

house

sheds

N

barn
(no roof)

60
Shamrock Farmstead

Site No. 40

Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60
0 f   100   200
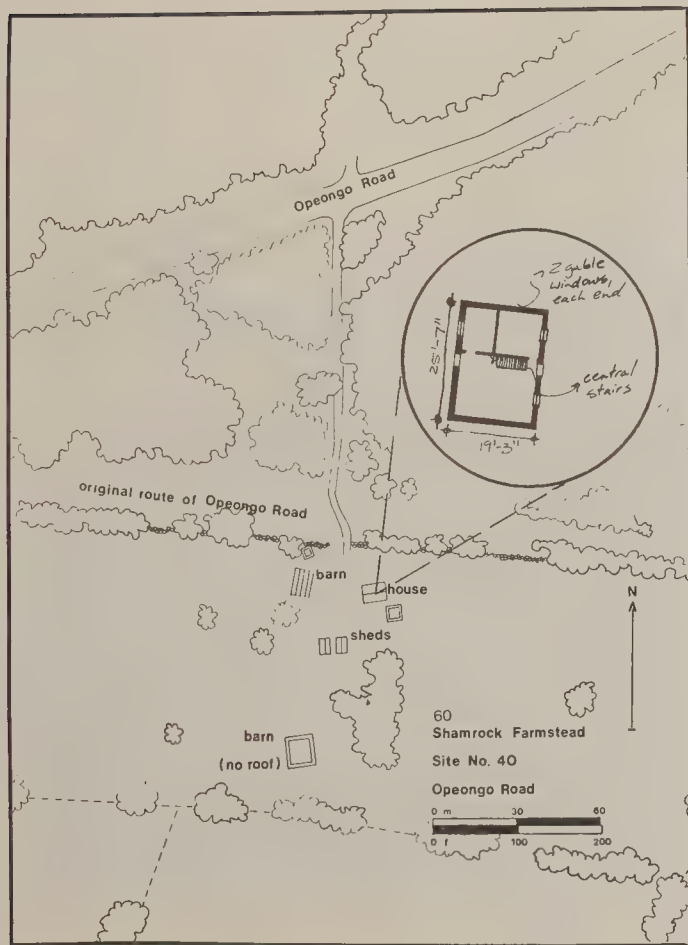
61. Front view of Shamrock farmstead, northeast face.
Autumn 1976.

plan and measures 25' 7" across the front, 19' 3" along the
side.

South of the house is a square-timber shed with a col-
lapsed roof.

South of this shed are two more sheds measuring about
18' x 10'. One is constructed of square timbers, the other
of board over frame.

South of the sheds is a large log barn, about 35' long
with a collapsed roof.

West of the house is a log barn about 27' long, with a
gambrel roof. This barn has old timbers on the lower level
and newer ones on the upper section.

North of the barn is a small square-timber shed, with-

62. *Rear view of Shamrock farmstead, southeast face. Autumn 1976.*

out a surviving roof.

This farmstead is in a dilapidated condition and the structures without roofs are especially endangered by the elements.

Dacre

Site #51 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
         Decline 1890-

63. *Dacre, Opeongo road, looking east toward cross-road. Autumn 1977.*

Pattern: Land   - cleared land and scrub forest
         Roads   - cross-roads of Opeongo and
                         Bonnechere - Madawaska roads
         Demarcations - crossroads village
         Buildings   - village houses, service, com-
                         mercial and institutional
                         buildings.

Dacre was the largest settlement on the Opeongo and re-mains the best representation of a 19th-century coloniza-tion-road village. It is located at the cross-roads of the Opeongo colonization road and the old road leading from the Bonnechere to the Madawaska River. This road connects Egan-ville, Balaclava, Mount St. Patrick and Calabogie to Dacre. Dacre was an important service centre for local settlers and a popular stopping-place for shantymen. It has been said that there was once a stopping-place on each of Dacre's four corners, however evidence today can only support the exis-tence of two of these shantymen's hotels.

(stoppingplace)

(commercial building)

school

Legris house

Madawaska – Bonnechere Road

church

post office

64
Cross Roads Village
Dacre
Site No. 51
Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60
0 ft   100   200

N
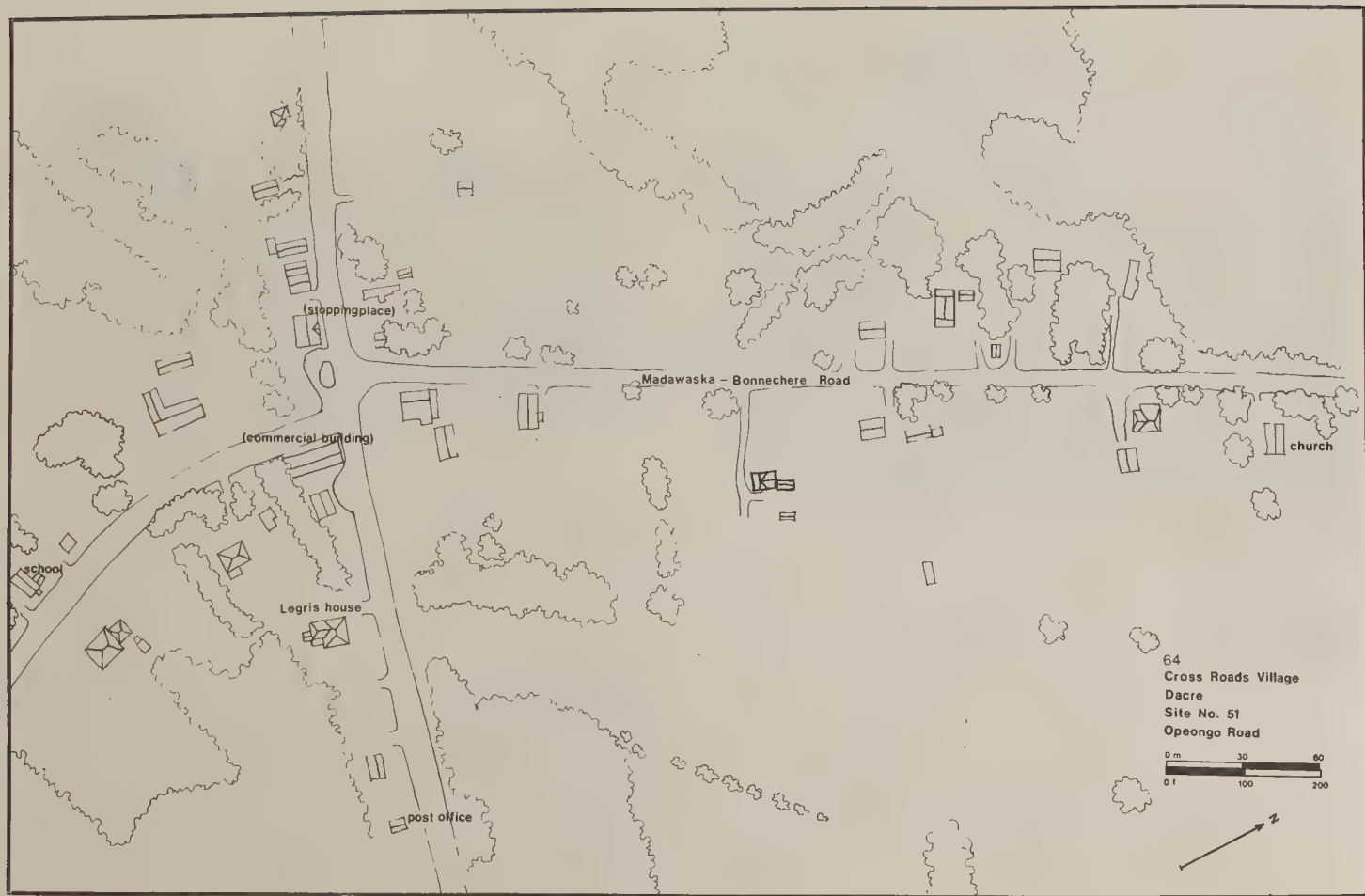
Dacre has a basic cross-roads form and no side streets. All buildings are on the Opeongo or Bonnechere - Madawaska road, with the greatest concentration at the corners where the two roads meet. The cross-roads was the focal point of activity for the village. All the commercial buildings are on the Opeongo road, institutions are on the Bonnechere road and residences fill the spaces in between.

Opeongo Road

On the southwest corner of the cross-roads is a large house with the characteristic 1½-storey centre-gable form. The house is built on a grander scale and has finer detailing than most buildings in this region from the 1860 to 1890 period. It may have been a stopping-place.

The building has a centre gable with a broad and shallow pitch and a broad-headed divided window. There are three windows in the end gables at the second-storey level. The building has modest eave returns and mouldings. It could be of log construction and is covered with clapboard. The front verandah is probably a replacement. The roof has cedar shingles. The large plan and centre gable make the building imposing, as does its siting, with end gables facing east and west along the Opeongo road and a gable facing north up the Bonnechere road.

This house-hotel building is in good condition, as are most of the buildings in Dacre. Log buildings in the colonization-road area are all endangered by the recent trend for building new houses out of old timbers.

The old Ryan hotel on the northwest corner at Dacre was dismantled several years ago and moved to Deep River.

Immediately to the west of the house-hotel building are two clapboard village houses. They have their gable-end to the street and the first one may have had an associated commercial use.

To the west of the two houses is a large gambrel barn with a broad plan, over 30' wide on the facade, and sited with gable-end to street. The name "Cockshutt" is written on the side and the barn may have been used as a machine

65. *Dacre, possible stopping-place, Opeongo road, looking west from cross-road. Autumn 1977.*

shop at one time.

To the west of the barn is a large square-plan, hip-roof house probably dating from 1900 to 1915. This is the last house on the western side of the village.

On the Opeongo road at the northwest corner is a village house set back from the street with its gable-end facing the road. The clapboard building has fancy detailing in the style of the 1890's with barge boards, window labels and a verandah with a decorated frieze.

At the northeast corner of the cross-roads is a gas station. The core of this building could be older but it has additions and is covered in aluminum siding. Behind the gas station is a shiplapped and clapboarded garage-barn structure. This corner was the site of the old Ryan's hotel, now owned by the Collins family in Deep River.

On the southeast corner, facing on the Opeongo road, is

66. *Dacre, village house, northwest corner, on Opeongo road, south face. Autumn 1977.*

67. *Dacre, commercial building, Opeongo road, north face. Autumn 1977.*

a turn-of-the-century commercial building, with the gable-end to the road. The much larger windows on the first floor signify a commercial use at the ground level. The structure is now used as a house. To the east of this clapboard house is a garage with small diamond-shaped windows.

East of these structures is the Legris house, an example of an attempt at town sophistication, unusual in the colonization-road area. The house has an enormous square plan with a hipped roof and clapboard exterior. It is set back from the street. The main style-feature is the veran-dah with a built-on second-storey balcony. Both have gin-gerbread detailing. The railings are constructed of per-forated lumber balusters and the balcony has an *art nouveau*-style screen door. All decorative detailing is intact.

East of the Legris house is a brick-veneered modern house and beyond is a post office housed in a small frame building. This marks the eastern end of town.

The Bonnechere - Madawaska Road

On the east side of the road just south of the corner is a hip-roof house similar to Legris but smaller in plan. At the southwest corner are square-timber gable-roof barns attached in an L-shape, with a separate barn sited to make the whole assemblage a courtyard.

To the south and west of the barns is a lumber shed, frame with wide doors. Further to the south is a building that appears to have been a separate school but is now a house. This brick gable-roof building, constructed in 1917, is similar to southern Ontario schools of the same period. There is a tiny vestibule at the entrance and a cloak room in the front L of the plan. All the windows are transom-shaped except for the two oval windows on either side of the door. The barge boarding has a cross motif punched in each end.

68. *Dacre, Legris house, Opeongo road, northwest face.
Autumn 1977.*

69. *Dacre, school house, Bonnechere - Madawaska road,
northeast face. Autumn 1977.*

North of the corner on the Bonnechere road are several
residential structures. The village terminates at the Bap-
tist church on the east side of the road.

The church building has a date of 1866 painted on it
and it is probably from the 1860-1890 period. It may be of
log construction and is covered in shiplap. It has a field-
stone foundation. The scale of the building is typical for
the colonization-road area during the 1860-1890 period and
detailing includes return eaves, pointed-arch windows and
door, and a gothicized muntin pattern.

70. *Dacre, church, Bonnechere - Madawaska road, south-
east face. Autumn 1977.*

Esmonde

Site #60 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: Road Building 1850-1860's;
             The Best Years 1860-1890;
             Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, overgrown
                        fields
        Roads   - the Opeongo colonization road
        Demarcations - ribbon settlement
                      - abandoned farm
                      - fields in pasture
                      - fence lines
        Buildings   - church, community centre,
                        square-timber house, log barns.

    Esmonde is a colonization-road settlement that was es-
tablished in the 1850's. The typical ribbon pattern of
farms and institutions lining the colonization road is ap-
parent here in the arrangement of the small community cen-
tre: church, house and the Curry farmhouse, which once
doubled as the Esmonde post office, in a line along the
northern side of the Opeongo road. Esmonde is located on
miles 25.1 of the Opeongo road.

    The Curry farmhouse post office is a typical coloniza-
tion-road farm. It was established in the 1850's and its
buildings and form suggest a farm from the 1860-1890 period.

    The house fronts on the road and has a typical "second
house" form, 1½-storey, gable, square-timber, measuring 24'
across the front and 16' along the side. The timbers are
enormous, 20" wide, and suggest an early date for the house.
The roof is covered in cedar shingles and has a brick chim-
ney projecting from the east end. The centre door has a
window on either side. The house plan has a steep end-
stairway leading up to bedrooms on the second level. On the
east side of the house are the remains of a square-timber
addition. The roof is missing on this section which may
have been the old post office.

second floor plan similar, window in each end gable

71
Esmonde
Site No. 60
Opeongo Road
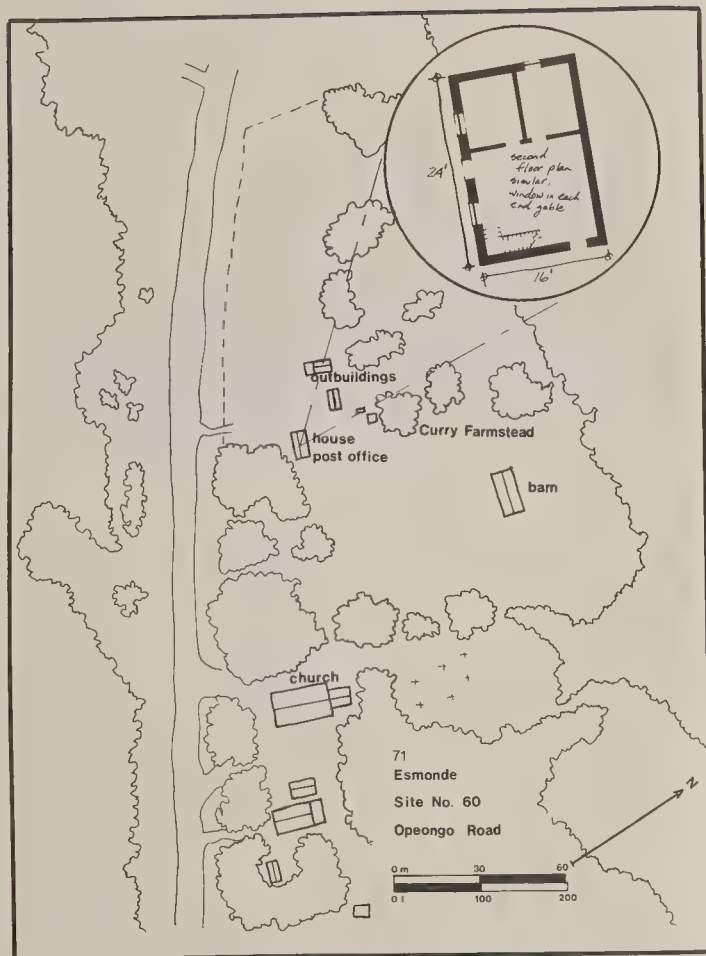
72. *Esmonde, Curry farmstead, southwest face. Autumn 1977.*

73. *Esmonde, log barn, south face. Summer 1976.*

There are two round-log outbuildings northwest of the house. The western building has a frame vestibule-doorway on the front and a log addition on the back which has a collapsed roof. The eastern building has barn doors and is used for storing hay on the second level. Behind these outbuildings is a small log shed.

Set on a hill back from the house is a large round-log barn with a half-barn attached to it. The full-barn has a gable roof with cedar shingles; the attached portion is missing its roof.

The Curry farmstead is not occupied and is therefore endangered by vandalism. The Bradley family of Eganville own their old house but no longer live on the site. Some of the buildings need new roofs to prevent the structures from deteriorating further.

The Esmonde church was built in 1890 on donated land, possibly a parcel from the Curry farmstead. The building, of stone quarried on the Davidson farm, is larger than log

churches of the same period. A large steeple dominates the front facade. Three doors provide the front entranceway. The church faces the road, is sited on a small rise and is set on a high foundation with steps running up to the doors. Directly behind the church is a small cemetery.

East of the church is a small frame house and an old community centre. The community centre is built of frame with the gable-end to the street and a single door on the front facade.

This collection of buildings at Esmonde presents us with a good picture of the form of a typical road strip settlement. The post office, farm, church, house and community centre suggest some of the functions that these villages once performed.

74. *Esmonde Church, house, community centre, south-
west face. Autumn 1977.*

Davidson Century Farm

Site #63 on the Opeongo Road

      Stage: Initial Settlement 1820-1850;
                      Road Building 1850-1890's;
                      The Best Years 1860-1890;
                      Decline 1890-

      Pattern: Land   - cleared land and scrub forest
              Roads   - Opeongo road, concession road
                              to Eganville, connecting side-
                              road to Newfoundout farm set-
                              tlement
              Demarcations - colonization-road farm
                              - rail fencing
                              - pastures

old house

house

attached sheds

attached barns

Opeongo Road

Eganville Road

Newfoundout Road

75
Davidson Century Farm

Site No 63

Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60 N
0 f   100   200
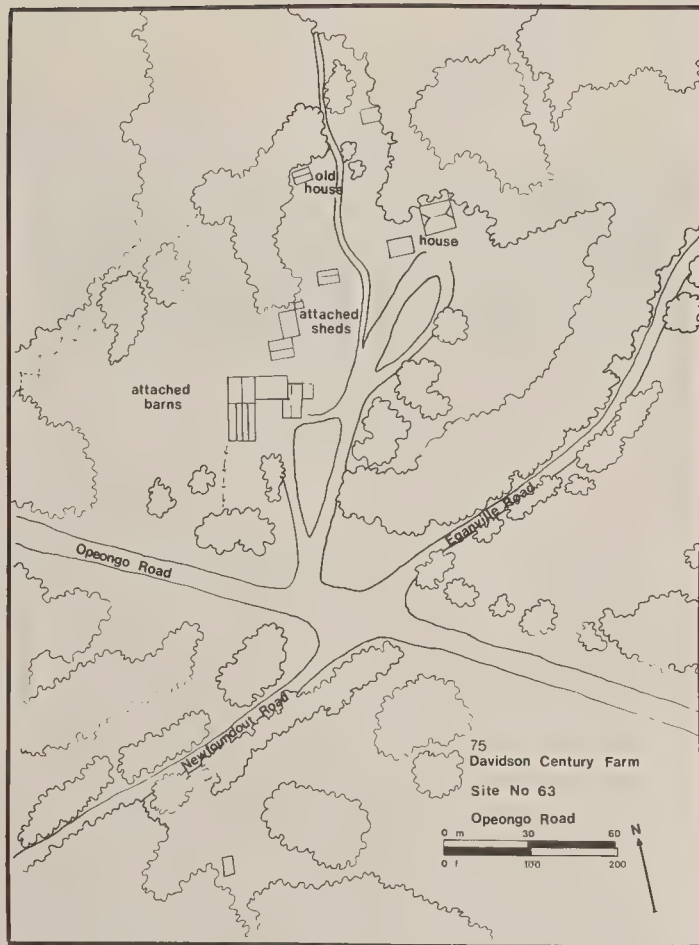
76. *Davidson Century Farm, attached buildings, north-east face. Summer 1976.*

77. *Davidson Century Farm, courtyard attachment, south face. Summer 1976.*

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                     - yard
        Buildings    - shanty-style sheds, attached
                       barns, old square-timber house.
```

The Davidson family settled in this area before the Opeongo road was opened. According to family tradition they came in on a lumber road from the Bonnechere River. Located in an area of better soil, the site is an interesting example of a squatter farm that is still in operation. The site has many buildings representing early and later stages of development. These buildings reflect different functions that take place on the farm, e.g. hay storage, cattle shelter, pig shelter, etc.

The Davidson farm is located on mile 26.1 of the Opeongo road at a juncture with a road to Eganville running north and a connecting side-road to the now-abandoned farm-ing settlement of Newfoundout on the south.

On the southwest side of the site is a collection of four attached round-log buildings in a courtyard arrangement. The eastern section is a large gambrel-roof barn; behind is a gable-roof barn, while the back section is a log and board structure with a fore-bay and an inclined roof. Attached to this barn is another gable-roof structure with a small covered entranceway. These structures are all roofed in metal sheething. The gambrel-roof barn is probably a later addition, built in the 20th century.

North of this assemblage is another collection of three attached structures. The southern-most building in this collection is a small gable-roof round-log barn with a wide door in the end wall, a window on the second level and a post for a hoisting pulley extending above it from the peak

78. *Davidson Century Farm, "second house," south face.
Autumn 1976.*

79. *Davidson Century Farm, shanty-style shed, south face.
Summer 1976.*

of the gable. Attached to this barn are two small shanty-style sheds with inclined roofs. These sheds are constructed of round timber with lap-and-dovetail notching and small doors cut into the fronts. One of these sheds is now used to shelter pigs. The sheds represent an earlier time period in their construction since they are identical to the early shanty house of the first stage of colonization-road history (Initial Settlement 1820-1850).

North of this collection is another log gambrel-roof outbuilding. This building is used for general storage on the first level while grain is kept on the second.

North of this outbuilding is a barn which was quite likely once the "second house" of the farm. This barn-like structure is square timbered and has a large double door cut on the south side. The large dovetailed timbers, windows on

the back and sides, suggest that it was once a dwelling.

North and east of the old house is another round-timber shanty-style shed with an inclined roof. This is almost a lean-to with its south wall left off to accommodate machinery and wood storage.

South of the lean-to is the present farm house, a large hip-roof, stuccoed, 2-storey building with a 1-storey addition on the north side. This house is a fairly new addition to the farm and probably dates from no earlier than the 1930's.

To the south and east of the house is another log outbuilding. Said to have originally been a summer kitchen, it is now used for storage. This shed is built in the shanty style with small round timbers, has an end door and two win-

dows on the south side. A dinner bell and weathervane are attached to the roof.

The Davidson farm offers us a fascinating illustration of the growth of a colonization-road farm, with its very early shanty-style buildings, "second house", attached barns and 20th-century farm house.

Raycroft Century Farm

Site #67 on the Opeongo Road

   Stage: Road Building 1850-1860's;
               The Best Years 1860-1890;
               Decline 1890 -

    Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, eroded hillside
             Roads   - Opeongo colonization road
             Demarcations - ribbon settlement
                        - farmstead
             Buildings - house, barn.

The Raycroft Century farm is located at Clontarf on mile 27.55 of the Opeongo road. The Raycrofts were one of the first families to settle in the area and according to local tradition, there was once a stopping-place on this site.

The farm house is a good example of a "second house" from the 1860-1890 period. The square-timber 1½-storey building has the centre gable facing the road and is set back 20' from the road. There is a verandah on the front and one on the side of the back summer-kitchen addition.

The log timbers on this house are small and it may be of fairly recent construction. Behind the house is a collection of attached board on frame sheds. West of the house is a square-timber barn with the double door on the gable-end facing the road. Next to the barn is a square-timber garage. This structure has large timbers and was quite likely the old house.

possible
old house
square timber

square
timber
barn

square
timber
house

attached

frame sheds

80
SITE NO. 67

Opeongo Road

Raycroft Century Farm

(rough sketch)
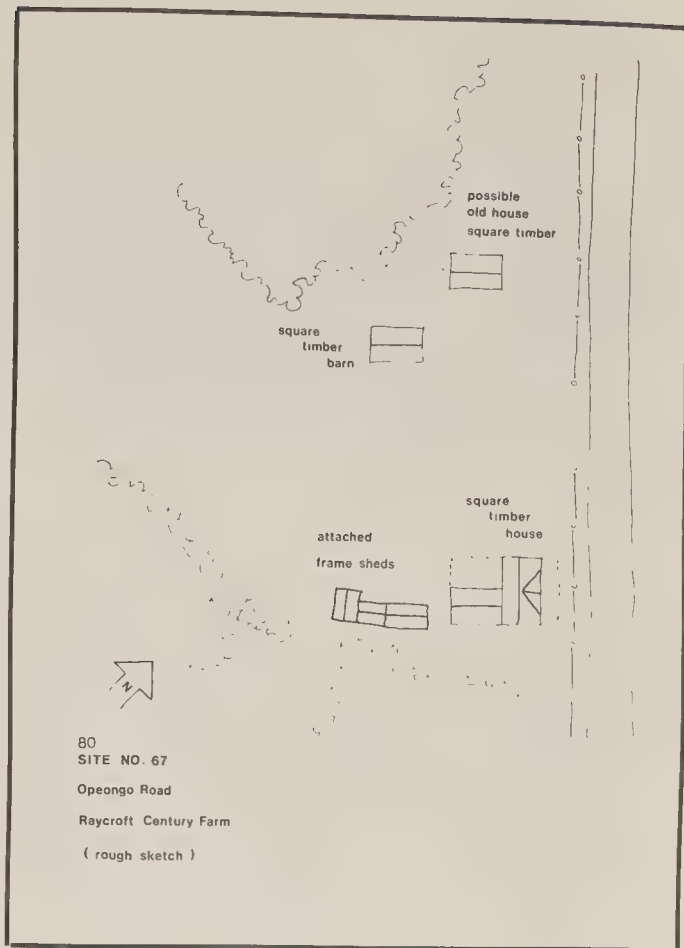
81. *Raycroft Century Farm, house, northwest face.*
Winter 1976.

82. *Raycroft Century Farm, squared timber barn and*
garage, north face. Autumn 1976.

The Raycroft farm is in good condition; however, the owners are thinking of sheathing their square-timber house with aluminum siding.

St. John's Lutheran Church

Clontarf, Site #84 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
          Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, forest
         Roads   - Opeongo colonization road
         Demarcations - ribbon settlement
                      - clearing

```
                       - cemetery
          Buildings    - church.
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The Lutheran church at Clontarf, located on mile 33.15 on the Opeongo, is a typical structure from the 1860-1890 period. Set back about 50' from the road, the asbestos-covered church has its gable-end facing the road with a steeple and bell tower. Under its sheathing, the building may be of square-timber construction. The centre door has a pointed-arch window above it and a round window above that. The building measures approximately 26' x 36' and three pointed-arch windows, 2' 4" wide, line each side. There is a small cemetery to the east of the church, and some of the tombstones have German inscriptions. A larger Lutheran cemetery is located about one mile east of the church.

The Lutheran church is in good condition but no longer

83. *Clontarf, Lutheran Church, south face. Autumn 1977.*

appears to be used for services.

Vanbrugh Schoolhouse

Site #91 on the Opeongo Road

    Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
                Decline 1890 -

    Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, scrub forest

84. *Vanbrugh, school house, south face. Autumn 1976.*

    Roads   - Opeongo colonization road
Demarcations - ribbon development
                 - small clearing
    Buildings   - school, barns.

    Vanbrugh was the name of a section of settlement along Opeongo colonization road. The old school house, located on mile 37.25 of the Opeongo road, is typical for the 1860-1890 period. The square-timber school has the gable-end set close to the road. The door in the end gable has no vestibule and three windows line each side of the structure. The building is approximately 22' x 33' and there are two board on frame barns set behind it.

    The Vanbrugh school is in good condition and is presently being used as a house.
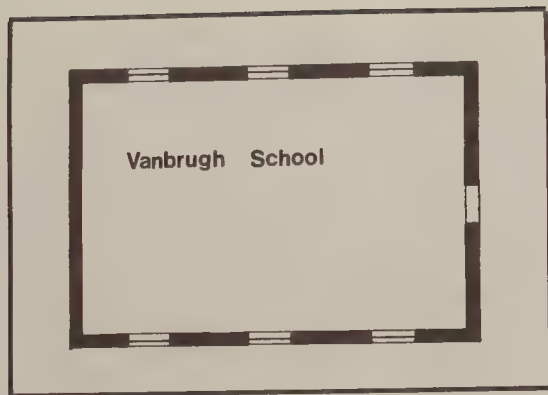
85. *Plan of Vanburgh school house.*
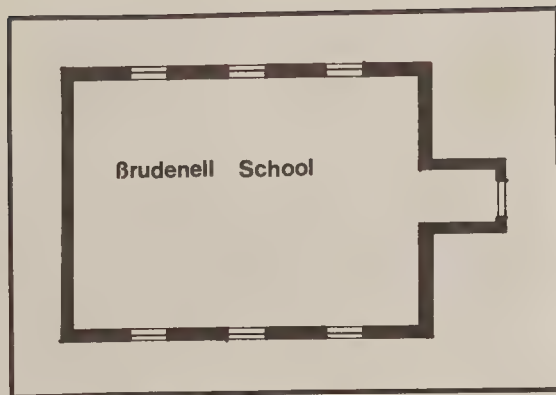
86. *Plan of Brudenell school house.*

Brudenell Village

Sites Nos. 100, 106, 107, 108, 115 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: Road Building 1850-1860's;
          The Best Years 1860-1890;
          Decline 1890-

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields and scrub forest,
                       rolling hills
         Roads   - Opeongo colonization road,
                       Peterson Junction colonization
                       road, road to Eganville
         Demarcations - ribbon settlement
                      - cross-roads village
         Buildings   - Costello hotel, commercial
                       buildings, school, church,
                       manse, hall.

Brudenell was established along the Opeongo coloniza-
tion road in 1857. This village is an interesting example
of ribbon and cross-roads settlement. At the cross-roads of
the old Junction route and the Opeongo were located stores,
a stopping-place and post office. One mile to the west is
the church and a mile to the east is a school. These insti-
tutions were probably sited away from the town because their
land was donated by farmsteaders. Land at the cross-roads
would have been much more valuable.

The Brudenell school is a fairly recent structure set
into a hill on the south side of the Opeongo. The building
of shiplap on timber has the typical school plan a small
vestibule facing the road and three windows on each side.
The school measures approximately 18' x 27'. Its foundation
has a concrete girdle and the hill site required that a sec-
tion at the back of the structure be cut away and stepped
upwards to accommodate the slope. The building is no longer
used as a school and is beginning to deteriorate.

At the Brudenell cross-roads are a hotel and two
stores. The Costello hotel on the south side of the road
is set about 5' back from the road on a slight rise. This
hotel is unique for sophistication and grandness of plan in
the colonization-road area. Stopping-places were variations

87. *Brudenell, school, east face. Autumn 1977.*

88. *Brudenell, school house, back section showing stepped foundation, west face. Autumn 1977.*

of the typical 1½-storey house but this L-plan structure, with its decorated verandah, has a distinctive hostelry form. The 1½-storey hotel has a gable roof with four dormers in the second level and return eaves. The exterior is shiplap which may cover square timber. The verandah runs on the north and east sides of the building and probably, at one time, ran along the west side as well. The verandah has an unusual board-and-batten roof, trellis-like supports, frieze work and lacy brackets. Two doors run off the verandah; the main door is on the front gable-end of the hotel and has a transom and sidelights, the second door is on the east side towards the back of the building. The foundation is field-stone and a door to the cellar is hidden under the front verandah. A frame and board shed is attached to the back of the building. Local people say there was once a race track behind this elegant structure. Behind the hotel is a log barn 30' x 18'. The Costello hotel is now in a dilapidated condition.

Next to the hotel on the south side of the road is a

commercial building, 1½ storeys, with a broad gable. The gable-end faces the street and is covered by a boom-town front. Directly across the road is another small commercial building of the same form, with one storey and a boom-town front.

One mile to the west of these structures is the Brudenell church, St. Mary's. This field-stone church was built by road settlers in the 1870's. The building is approximately 36' x 80' and has the gable-end with a bell tower facing the road. The centre door is flanked by pointed-arch windows and has a pointed-arch transom over the door. West of the church is a cemetery which is located on both sides of the road.

Across from the church on the south side of the road is a large manse, approximately 33' x 50', probably built around 1915. The manse is a 2-storey concrete-block, flat-top building with a T-shaped plan. The front entrance has

1st Floor Plan (perimeter only)

0 m   5

0 f   10   20

89
Costello Hotel

Brudenell

Site No. 106

Opeongo Road

0 m   5   10

0 f   18   32

N

possible
former
extent of
verandah
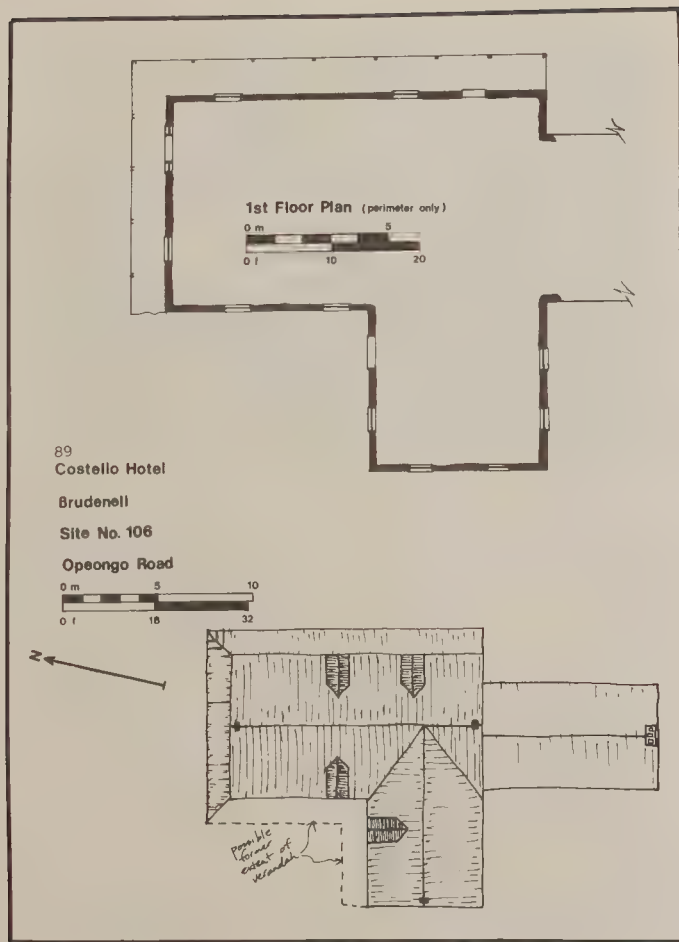
90. *Brudenell, Costello hotel, north face. Autumn 1977.*

a column-lined porch covered by an enclosed second-storey verandah. The side entrance has a similar treatment.

Set back from the road just west of the manse is the church hall. This is an interesting structure and may have been the original manse. The shiplap covered hall is a large 1½-storey centre-gable structure measuring approximately 37' across the front and 24' along the side. The shallow-pitched front gable features a large double-hung window divided by mullions into a centre portion and side-lights. Attached on the back of this structure are two additions, measuring approximately 30' and 18' in length.

West of the hall is another part of the cemetery with old gravestones that chronicle the lives of early Irish settlers.

91. *Brudenell, Costello hotel, east face. Autumn 1977.*

92. *Brudenell, commercial building, northeast face. Autumn 1977.*

93. Brudenell, commercial building, southeast face. Autumn 1977.

94. Brudenell, Manse, northeast face. Autumn 1976.

95.   Brudenell, St. Mary's Church, south face.   Autumn 1976.

96
SITE NO. 115
Opeongo Road
St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church
(rough sketch)
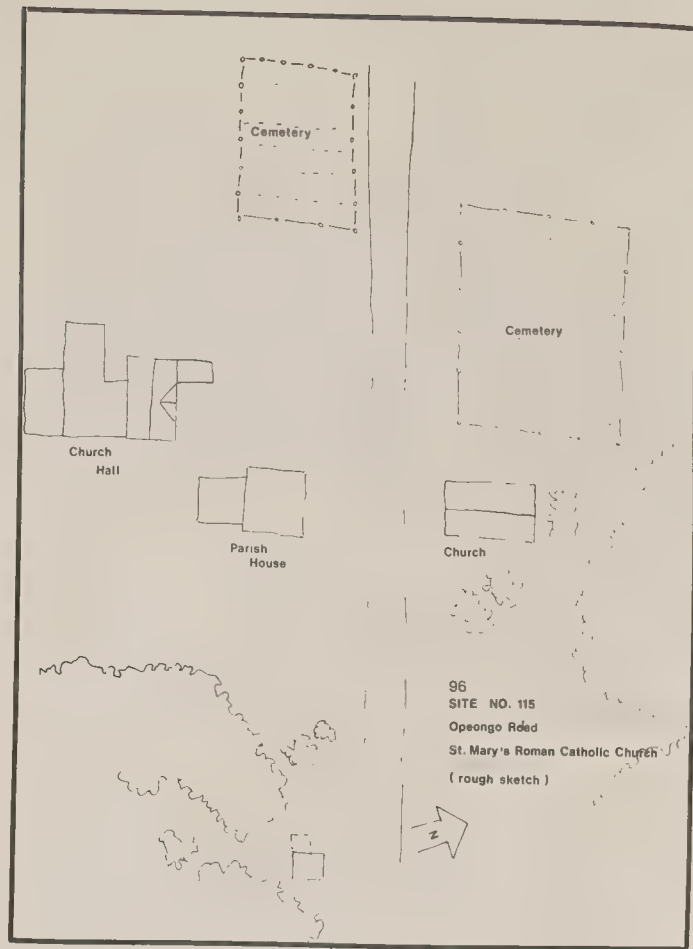
Hopefield Stopping Place

Site #129 on the Opeongo Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
    Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - pasture, forest
   Roads   - Opeongo colonization road
   Demarcations - ribbon settlement
        - farmstead
        - old orchard
   Buildings - stopping-place - farmhouse,
        barn, sheds, saw mill.

This old farmstead, located on mile 57.1 of the Opeongo road, is reported to have been a stopping-place by local historian Father Briere. The board-and-batten over square-timber house is 35' x 26', larger than the 20' x 18' plan of a typical second-stage farm house. The front facade, facing the road, has a centre gable, wide verandah with gingerbread detailing and a centre door with side and transom lights. The elegance of detail and breadth of plan suggest that this house may indeed have been a stopping-place during the 1860-1890 period.

The farmstead is located just west of a small saw mill and there are lumber sheds beside the house. Two square-timber sheds are located behind the house and another log barn is right across the road, on the south side. This barn is surrounded by an old overgrown orchard.

The farmstead is generally in good condition; however, the verandah and gingerbread are deteriorating.

Barry's Bay Railway Station & Water Tower

Stage: Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - cleared of trees

97. *Hopefield, old stopping-place at right, north face. Autumn 1977.*

    Roads   - Highway 60 at Barry's Bay
    Demarcations - settled town
    Buildings - railway station, water tower.

Dating from about the turn of the century, the railway station reflects the development of Barry's Bay into a town, prospering from its position on the Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound railway in the period of decline for colonization roads. The frame station is not a frontier square-timber structure but is a moderately well-detailed version of a southern Ontario standard station.

The rectangular gable-roof plan has a bay window on the ground-level track-side facade and gabled dormer above to permit a better view up and down the line. The gable eaves extend out over the track-side and road-side facades, affording modest weather protection to passengers. These overhangs are further distinguished by knee-brace supports and tongue-in-groove soffits and end sheathing. Most of the

98. *Barry's Bay, railway water tower, south face. Autumn 1977.*

99. *Barry's Bay railway station, south face. Autumn 1977.*

structure is covered by clapboard but an appealing tongue-in-in-groove 3-foot dado runs around the structure's exterior.

In its current use as a social centre for senior citizens, the building and grounds are well maintained. The seats along the track-side facade may be part of the building's original furnishings.

The water tower near the station is distinguished by its wood support-system, round wooden tank with steel girdling rods, water-tapping mechanism and peaked roof.

Bark Lake Post Office

Site #139 on the Opeongo Road

    Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
              Decline 1890-

    Pattern: Land   - second-growth forest, clearing
             Roads   - Opeongo colonization road
             Demarcations - small clearing
             Buildings   - post office house, barn, sheds.

The Bark Lake post office is located on mile 69.8 of the Opeongo road where it loops off Highway 60 north of Bark Lake. This site is a unique resource in the colonization-road area, an intact post office from the 1860-1890 period. The building is now used as a summer home by Miss Edna Morley and the interior has been preserved much as it was one

barn

house

100
Edna Morley's

Bark Lake Post Office

Site No. 139

Opeongo Road

0 m   30   60

0 f   100   200

post
office

verandah

shed
addition
sloped
roof

25'
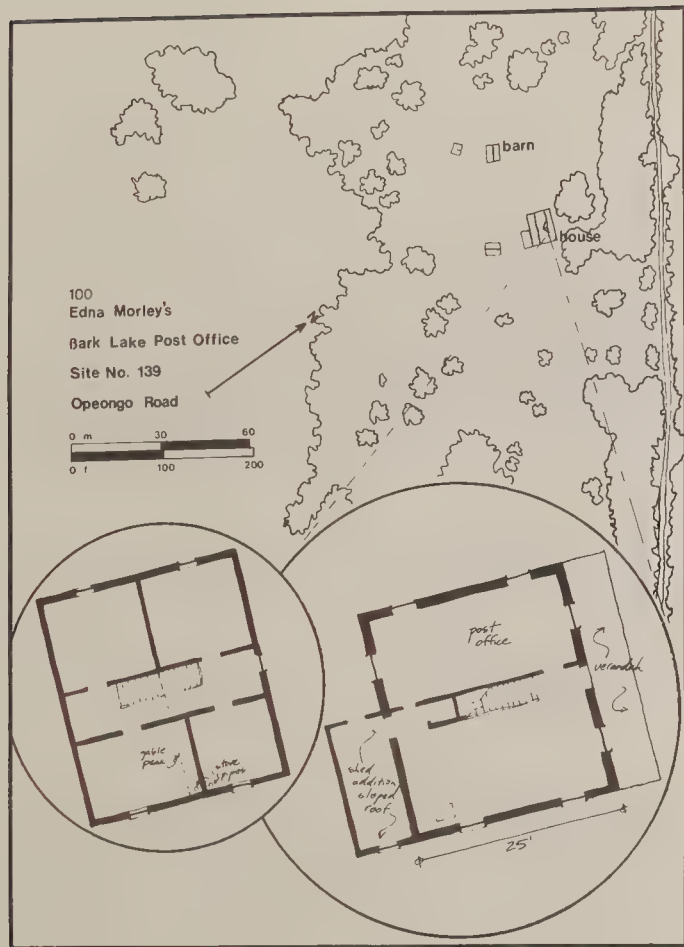
101. Bark Lake Post Office, northeast face. Autumn 1976.

hundred years ago.

The house is a typical "second house" with squared tim-
bers, a centre gable and a verandah. A small shed is at-
tached on the back. The front door has a transom light and
is flanked by windows; there are two first-storey windows on
each end of the house and two more on the second ½-storey
under the gable. The roof has a chimney at each end. The
interior of the house shows hand-cut wall and floor boards.
On the first floor, one side of the house is divided off in-
to a long room. This was once used as the post office. The
postmistress's desk, picture of Queen Victoria and hooks
for the curtain that divided her office, remain to
indicate the room's former function. Upstairs are four
small rooms. The house is a gem, since it has never been
renovated, only well-maintained.

North and west of the house is a small square-timber

102. *Bark Lake Post Office, interior kitchen-living room.
Autumn 1976.*

103. *Bark Lake, banked shed, north face. Autumn 1976.*

barn with dovetail notching. Behind this is a square-timber
shed built into the side of a hill with a dry-stone founda-
tion at the back and a small entrance door. All these log
buildings have been re-chinked and are in very good condi-
tion.

Mount St. Patrick Village

Site #7 on Mount St. Patrick Road

Stage: Initial Settlement 1820-1850;
        The Best Years 1860-1890;
        Decline 1890-

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, Constant Creek

Roads	- on road connecting Bonnechere and Madawaska Rivers
Demarcations	- mill village
Buildings	- church, parish house, stores, houses.

Mount St. Patrick predates the colonization roads, the
area being settled by Irish immigrants in the 1830's and
1840's. The first office for the Opeongo land agency was
established here in the early 1850's. The typical mill vil-
lage is located on a plain below the Mount St. Patrick Moun-
tains at the point where a side-road branches off the Bonne-
chere - Madawaska road and crosses Constant Creek.

Connected by road to Dacre on the Opeongo, Mount St.
Patrick was an important service centre for the eastern part
of the colonization-road area. The village is strung out
along the side-road which crosses the creek and makes an L-

104. *Mount St. Patrick village, looking southwest.* *Autumn 1977.*

105. *Mount St. Patrick, church, southwest face.* *Autumn 1977.*

shaped bend. The village buildings best represent the 1860 to 1890 and Decline period of colonization-road history.

Mount St. Patrick Church is located on the west side of the road at the northern terminus of the village. The tall rubble-stone bell tower makes the church visible for miles around the valley. Built on an L-plan with the nave running north and south, the church sanctuary measures 90' x 30' and is quite large for the 1860-1890 period. The building was constructed in 1869 but a stone-veneer addition and new stained-glass windows were added in 1929 which account for its larger and grander form.

The siting of the church and treatment of the land in front is unique for this area. The church faces the creek and parallels the road; a line of trees and a sidewalk run from the church towards the water. The church's strong axial relationship with the water seems quite independent of the curving road.

A flat-top manse, flat-top house and a gable-roof community centre are part of this village green associated with the church. All three buildings date from about 1915 and represent a style of architecture popular in the colonization-road area in the early part of the Decline stage. The cemetery, with headstones dating from the 1840's, is located behind the church.

Around the corner of the road, on the same side and south of the church, is a large gambrel-roof commercial building. This insul-brick structure has the gable-end to street with large shop-front windows and a recessed door. The store has a 1-storey addition on the south side.

Crossing the creek and heading westward out of town are several small flat-top houses circa 1915.

Across from the church on the east side of the road is a frame 1½-storey house sited very close to the road. This

On the map sketch:

To
Opeongo
Road

View to
Constant
Creek
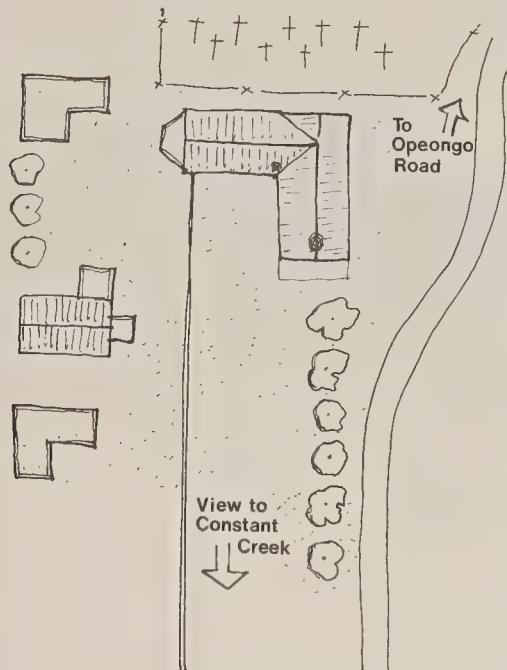
106
Mt. St. Patrick
Church & Green

(rough sketch)

N

107. Mount St. Patrick, general store, south face. Autumn
1977.

village house has its formal entrance facing south toward
the water with a side entrance on the road.

South of this house and set about 1/10 of a mile back
from the road on a hillside is a large flat-top house and a
board-covered frame barn.

At the turn in the village road is a square-timber barn
set right beside the road. This gable-roof barn is made up
of two sections and has a broad plan with a large gable area.

West of the barn, around the mid-village turn in the
road, is a large 1½-storey house with a centre gable. The
large dimensions of this structure suggest that it may have
been a stopping-place, as do the side and front doors and
two windows on the second level under the gable. The exis-
tence of a square-timber summer kitchen off the back of this
structure suggests that the shiplap on the house may cover
timbers.

On the west side of the creek and south side of the

108. *Mount St. Patrick, squared timber barn, north face.*
Autumn 1977.

109. *Mount St. Patrick, possible stopping-place, north*
face. Autumn 1977.

road is a square-timber commercial building typical of the
1860-1890 period. The structure has its gable-end facing
the street with a centre six-panelled door flanked by two
large windows and two windows on the second level. This
gable facade is covered in clapboard. The metal-covered
roof has a chimney projecting from the south end.

The last site on this side of the road is a typical
farmstead with a 1½-storey frame house and attached log
barns.

Mount St. Patrick no longer has a mill building but the
church, village green and two stores are important reminders
of the services this village once provided in the 1860-1890
period.

On the Bonnechere - Madawaska road towards Kennellys
Mountain just outside Mount St. Patrick is an intact steam-
powered saw mill and sawdust collector. Long and narrow,

approximately 15' x 50', the structure is supported on con-
crete pylons and set on a sloping site.

110. Mount St. Patrick, commercial building, northwest face. Autumn 1977.

111. Mount St. Patrick, steam saw mill and sawdust collector, east face. Summer 1976.

Lake Constant

general store

← Dacre

lumber
shed

sawmill

house

farmstead

Constant Creek

barn

112
Mill Village

Balaclava

Site No. 2

Bonnechere – Madawaska Road

| 0 m | 30 | 60 |
| 0 f | 100 | 200 |

N
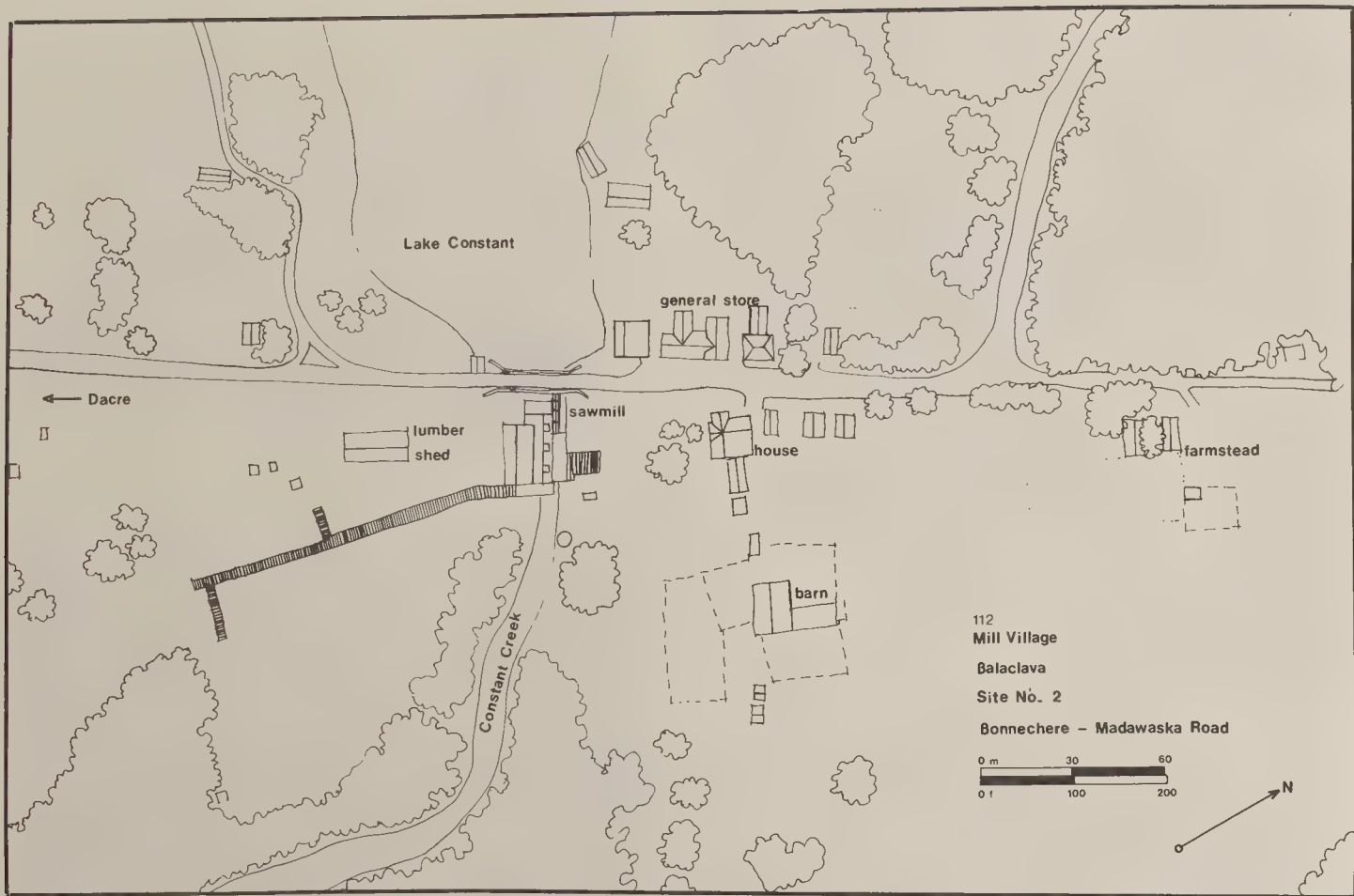
Balaclava

Site #2 on the Balaclava Road

Stage: Initial Settlement, 1820-1850;
           The Best Years 1860-1890.

Pattern: Land   - cleared land and scrub forest
                       - Lake Constant and Constant
                         Creek
        Roads   - on an old route connecting the
                       Bonnechere and Madawaska Rivers
        Demarcations - mill village
        Buildings   - saw mill, houses, barns, gen-
                       eral store.

Balaclava is an outstanding example of a mill village in the colonization-road area. A saw mill was established here in the 1850's at the source of Constant Creek which runs from Lake Constant into the Madawaska River. A water-powered mill still stands on the site, constituting a unique historical resource, one of the last of its kind in Ontario. The area around Balaclava and to the north was settled by squatters in the 1830's and was called Brunswick Bush. This squatters' settlement and mill village was connected to the Opeongo road at Dacre, about three miles south of Balaclava.

The Balaclava saw mill is located below the level of Lake Constant behind a concrete dam. The dam is also a bridge for Highway 513. Railway tracks run from the mill, across the road, down into the water, used by railway cars for carrying timber from the lake to the mill. A wooden trough on the north side directed water from the dam into the mill to operate an overshot wheel or water turbine. The mill building is a 3-storey frame structure with a shallow gable roof. The roof has a double-chine shed addition on the south side and three shed dormers on the north side. The lowest level houses the wheel mechanism and power was transferred into the next two levels by leather belts. Cutting and finishing machinery are housed on the second and third storeys. The building's siting in a hollow below lake level led to an interesting development, the elevated wooden tramway that leads from the third level across to lumber

113.   *Balaclava, saw mill, north face. Summer 1976.*

sheds and storage areas. A lumber shed still sits on the hill south of the mill. On the north side of the mill a wooden bridge over the creek provides alternate access. Behind the mill is a tall cylindrical sawdust burner with a screen on top to catch the sparks. A wooden walkway connects the burner to the third level of the mill.

North of the saw mill is a farmstead. The house is an

114. *Balaclava, saw mill and sawdust burner, south face.*
Summer 1976.

115. *Balaclava, general store, east face.* *Summer 1976.*

L-plan gable and is sited very close to the road. Behind it, on the west, is a large barn complex, the structures being attached to form an L-shape.

Directly across the road from the farmstead is a hip-roof village house with a long addition at the back. This building may have been a hotel, with its two doors on the front facade. The clapboard structure has a verandah and second-storey balcony.

The Balaclava general store is sited just south of the hip-roof house. This turn-of-the-century store has the typical form of gable-end to street, with large windows flanking a double door. Extending south is a long addition to the buildings, perhaps used as storage. South of this and right beside the lake is a frame and board shed.

Newfoundout Settlement

Sites Nos. 2, 3, 5 on Newfoundout Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
           Decline 1890 -

Pattern: Land   - pasture, overgrown fields,
                       scrub forest
         Roads   - Newfoundout connecting side-
                       road
         Demarcations - abandoned farms
         Buildings   - log farm buildings, ruins,
                       foundations.

Newfoundout was a farming community located on a side-

116. *Newfoundout, fence and stoney pasture, Site #2.*
    Summer 1976.

117. *Newfoundout, attached barn and boulders, Site #2, west*
    face. Summer 1976.

road connected to the Opeongo at Davidson's Corners. The
area was settled from 1860 to 1890 and, at its height, the
community had 13 farms and a post office (Donahue P.O.).
The road is now practically unused and four deserted farm-
steads are visible along its length. These sites are typi-
cal examples of abandoned farms found throughout the coloni-
zation-road area; however, at Newfoundout, the rough topo-
graphy clearly illustrates why the area was abandoned.

The first farmstead, site #2, on the Newfoundout road
provides an evocative illustration of the conditions Shield
farmers coped with. A straight-log fence, constructed of
whole logs with cross pieces, side posts and wire, encloses
a field with several ruined log structures. The field was
never completely cleared and is littered with enormous boul-
ders and glacial debris.

A large attached-barn ruin dominates the site. The
barn is made of round timber and is constructed in a U-shape.
Beside the barn there are two noteworthy structures: a log
shed with most of the roof intact and the walls of a square-
timber banked barn.

The plan sketch labels:

square timber house

frame shed

log barns (collapsed roofs)

118
SITE NO. 3
Newfoundout Rd.
Abandoned Farm

(rough sketch)

22

18

N
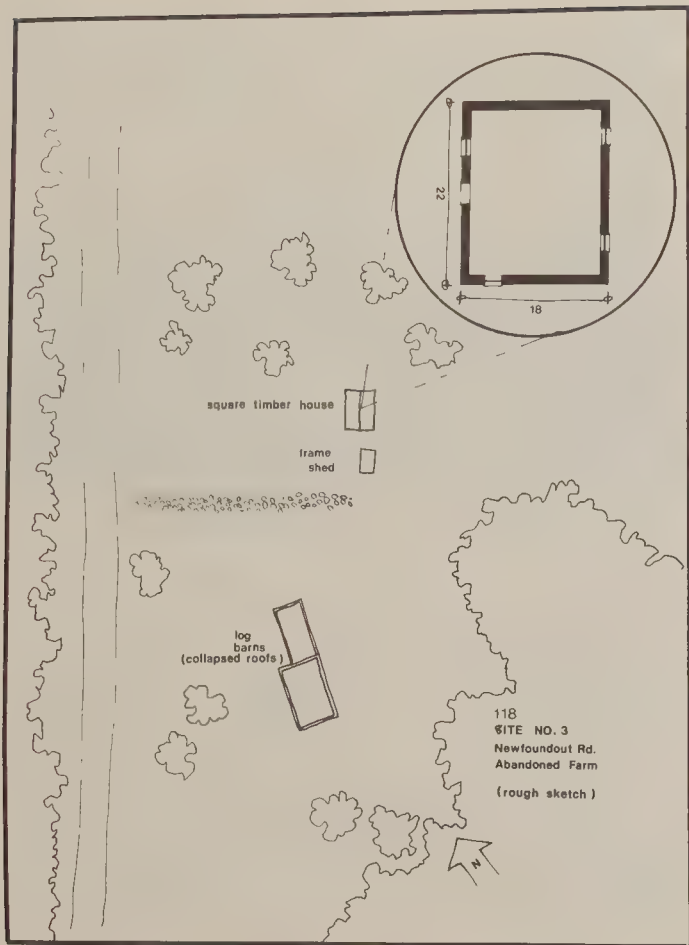
119. *Newfoundout, stone fence and barns, Site #3, west face.*
Summer 1976.

A concrete foundation remains to mark the site of the farm house. A cellar space is still visible.

This abandoned farmstead is deteriorating rapidly under the force of weather.

The second farm (site #3) on mile 1.7 of the Newfound-out road has a farm house, shed and an attached barn still standing. The farm is set back about 1/10 of a mile east of the road, at the end of a field divided by a wide stone fence with maples growing up along its length. South of the end of the fence are two round-log barns attached to form an L-shape. The roof is collapsed on this structure and the walls are falling in.

North of the end of the fence is a small board-covered frame shed. Next to the shed is the farm house, a typical

120. *Newfoundout, typical second house, Site #3, east face. Summer 1976.*

example of a small "second house" of the 1860-1890 period. The square-timber house overlooks a valley with the door and single window facing south, away from the road.

The last farmstead on the Newfoundout road (site #5) is also a good example of a farm from the 1860-1890 period.

On the east, the first structure of this farmstead is a tall log barn. An opening in the upper gable-end has a bottom-hinged door to allow hay to be loaded into the second level by a pulley. The roof on this structure is collapsing. West of the barn on the other side of the road is a pump and the stone foundation of a burned farm house. South of the foundation is a clapboard shed. A ruined log shed covered in brambles is located a few yards to the south. This shed has an old form of construction used in the 1820-1850 period of settlement, a scooped roof made from large hollowed-out logs.

West of this shed are two attached log barns, one

pump

stone house
foundation

log
barn

frame
shed

scoop roof
shed

log barns
(no roofs)

121
SITE NO. 5

Newfoundout Road

Abandoned Farm

(rough sketch)

131
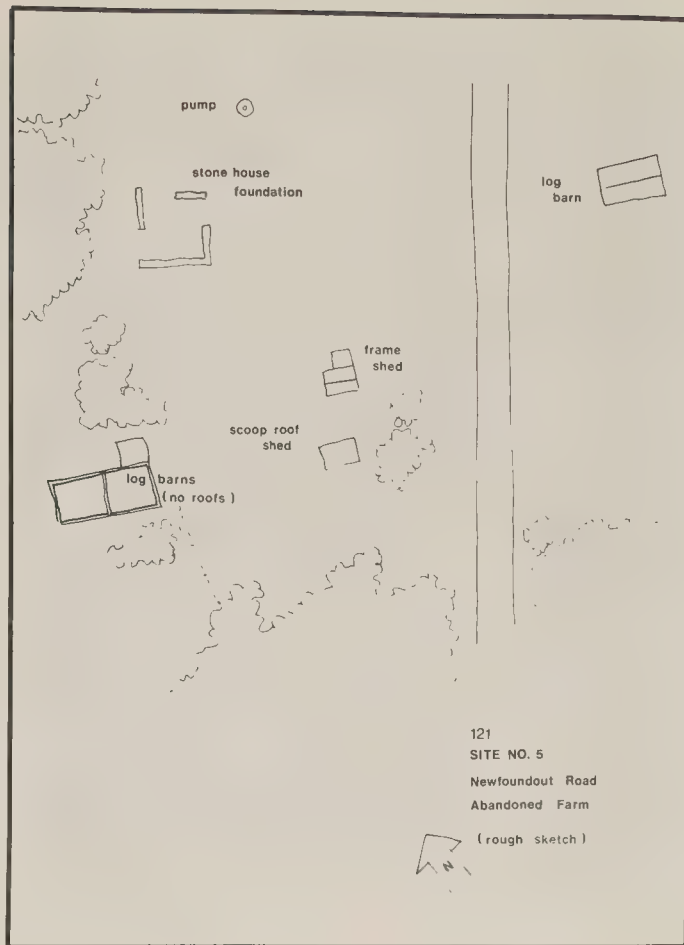
122. *Newfoundout, scoop roof shed, Site #5, south face. Autumn 1976.*

roughly notched, one dovetailed. A covered doorway on this barn has another set of roof scoops. At the gable-end on the second level is another bottom-hinged door. The roof of this structure has collapsed.

Newfoundout, with its abandoned fields either cleared or left littered with stones, gives a graphic example of the hardships colonization-road settlers had to face. The twisting and treacherous side-road gives the best approximation today of travelling conditions as they were on the 19th-century colonization roads.

Rockingham

Site #9 on Peterson Junction Road

Stage: Road Building 1850-1860's;
         The Best Years 1860-1890;
         Decline 1890-

Pattern: Land   - small clearing for village in
                      creek valley, surrounded by
                      pine forest
         Roads   - Peterson Junction road and a
                      side-road also connected to the
                      Opeongo road
         Demarcations - mill village, connecting side-
                      road
         Buildings - church, school, store, resi-
                      dences.

Rockingham was established in 1859 by John S. J. Watson who came from England with a group of settlers, including tradesmen. This group came into the area on the Opeongo and travelled south on the recently-opened Peterson Junction road looking for a place to settle. They established their village at a good mill site. The mill stream and village were called Rockingham, after the settlers' home in England.

In the next few years, grist and saw mills, a store, post office, blacksmith's shop, tavern, hotel, tannery, school and St. Leonard's Church were built on this site. The route of the Peterson Junction road crossed the creek at Rockingham and the village was also connected to the Opeongo by a side-road branching north from the Junction road.

The most outstanding feature of the village is St. Leonard's Church, perched on the side of a hill in a small ¼-acre clearing cut out of a tall-pine forest. The long side of the church, with three round-headed double-hung nave windows, overlooks the town. A small entrance-vestibule and bell tower are at the western end.

123
Rockingham
Site No. 9
Peterson Junction Road

0 m   30   60
0 I   100   200

school

Rockingham Creek

general store

Peterson Road
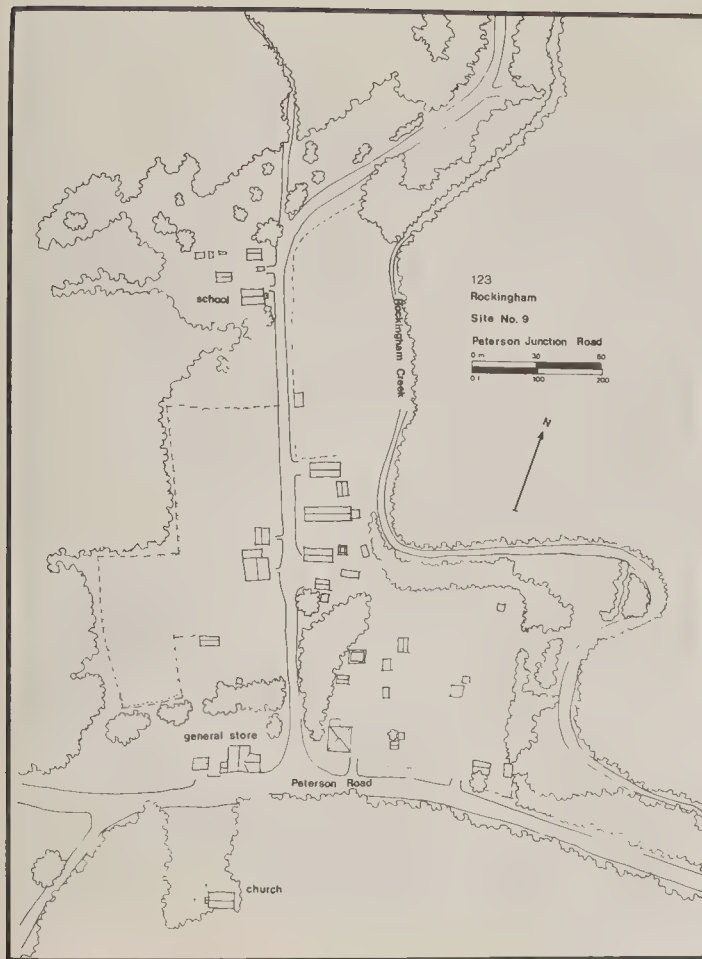
church

124.   Rockingham village from St. Leonard's Church, looking
       north.   Summer 1976

125. *19th-century Rockingham, looking south towards Peterson Junction road.*

126. *Rockingham, looking north from church yard. Summer 1976.*

127. *Rockingham, looking south, note church on hill. Summer 1976.*

This church of board-and-batten on frame is being repaired by local residents. They recently renewed the cedar-shake roof. The interior of the church is bare, the pews and pulpit have been sold. A small cemetery with the markers of the earliest settlers, including John S. J. Watson, is located in front of the church. The dramatic siting of this church, presiding over the village, evokes an image of Sundays in Rockingham when it was a bustling frontier town.

Across the Peterson road, where the side-road joins it, is a general store which has a facade on the Peterson road and one on the side-road. The Peterson-road facade is a typical commercial front, gable-end to street, with large 12-pane windows on the first floor. The building has an L-plan and the portion facing the side-road has a hip-gable roof and end verandah. This portion of the structure facing the side-road was probably added later.

On the opposite northeast corner is a large hip-roof village house built after 1900. North of the corners on the side-road are several 1½-storey village houses and log and board barns. At the northern end of the village is an old square-timber school. The school, representing the 1860-1890 period, has a typical plan with front vestibule and side windows. However, there are only two windows on each side, suggesting that the building could be quite old. This structure, now used as a house, has return eaves, board-and-batten on the front and exposed logs on the sides.

As is the case with most colonization-road villages, Rockingham is missing some of the buildings that would reflect its former functions. The industrial buildings, post office and stopping-place are no longer extant. The church,

which dates back to Rockingham's early years, is the most important building in the village. Although local citizens have shown an interest in preserving this structure, it is in danger of deterioration because it no longer serves a useful purpose and remains as an abandoned shell.

128.   *Rockingham Church, north face.   Summer 1976.*

129.   *Rockingham, general store, north face.   Autumn 1977.*

130. *Rockingham, school, southeast face. Summer 1976.*

131. *Letterkenny Church, northwest face. Autumn 1977.*

Letterkenny Church

Site #3 on the Addington Road

    Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
               Decline 1890-

    Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, scrub forest,
                             hills
             Roads   - Addington colonization road
             Demarcations - small clearing
                           - cemetery
             Buildings   - church.

The church is set in an isolated clearing on mile 2.95
of the Addington road about one mile north of an old farming
community called Letterkenny. This small frame structure is
a typical colonization-road church from the 1860-1890 peri-
od. The gable-end of the shiplap building faces the road
with a gable-roof vestibule on the front. The vestibule has
double doors with a pointed-arch window above them.

There are two small pointed-arch windows on the sides
of the vestibule and two on the front of the church. The
building has an elongated plan, 18' x 40', with four point-
ed-arch windows on each side. Painted barge boards decorate
the front gables and small wooden spools hang from the
boards. The building is set on a hill and the field-stone
foundation is stepped up to accommodate the slope. Behind
the church is a small cemetery.

The Letterkenny Church is in good condition and is
still apparently used for religious services.

The map/sketch labels:

- stone shed
- square timber shed
- double barn
- farm house
- barn walls (no roof)
- frame sheds
- log barn
- frame barn
- square timber barn
- frame shed no roof
- 132
- SITE NO. 4
- German Settlement Rd.
- Wilno Farmstead (rough sketch)
- N
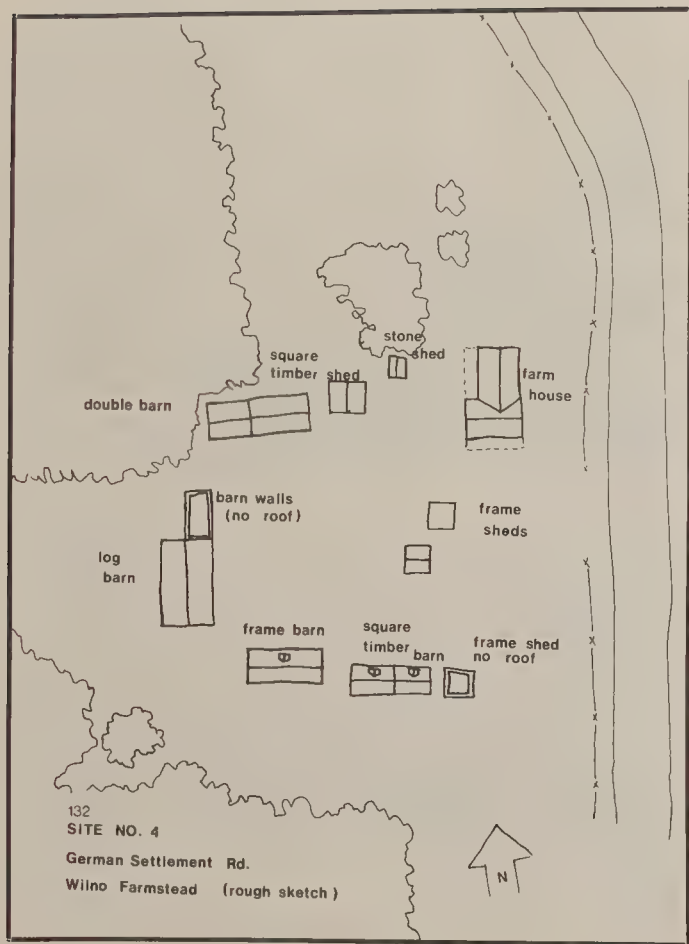
133. Wilno farmstead, house, north face. Autumn 1976.

Wilno Farmstead

Site #4 on the German Settlement Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
         Decline 1890-

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, rolling hills
         Roads   - Wilno - German Settlement road,
                         connecting side-road
         Demarcations - abandoned farm
         Buildings   - farm house, attached barns.

The Wilno farmstead is a fine example of a coloniza-
tion-road farm from the 1860-1890 period, its square-timber
house and numerous log outbuildings reflecting various func-

134. Wilno farmstead, stone and square timber sheds, east face. Autumn 1976.

135. Wilno farmstead, attached barns with half-barn, south face. Autumn 1976.

tions. The farm is located on a side-road that runs south from Wilno and eventually connects to the Opeongo road.

The square-timber house, measuring approximately 27' across the front and 20' along the side, is set parallel to the road. The house is a T-plan and the log addition on the back measures 20' x 20'. Both sections have gable roofs. The front facade shows some elegance; there is a centre door with side and transom windows, a dormer over the door and a verandah with a board-and-batten roof. The house is set on a stone foundation.

The outbuildings are arranged in a circle or courtyard behind the farm house and most are of log construction. Im-

mediately behind the house is a small shed, perhaps a pig sty, with low walls of stone construction topped by a gable roof. Next to the stone shed is a square-timber building approximately 18' x 15' and 16½' to the peak of the gable roof. This shed has a single man-sized door. West of this shed are two barns attached together; one being of square timber, the other round logs. Both have dovetail notching. The double barn doors, located at the end of one front wall, show that a typical half-barn was added on to make a full-barn.

At right angles and forming the base of the U-shaped assemblage are two attached outbuildings. Together, the structures measure 62' across by about 25'. The smaller

136. *Wilno farmstead, outbuildings with dormers, north face. Autumn 1976.*

137. *Killaloe mill, north face. Autumn 1977.*

section has no roof. Both are built of round logs with slats of wood between the logs.

   South and east of the attached outbuildings is a board on frame outbuilding, 35' long across the front with two man-sized doors and a dormer on the roof.

   East of this is a shed about 20' long with a 3' double door, a dormer and dovetail notching. Attached to this is another small shed with dormer and a board and frame lumber shed which has fallen down. In the centre of the courtyard are two board on frame sheds; one, approximately 18' x 15' and 19½' to the top of the gable, could have been a granary, the other is a small inclined-roof structure.

   This farmstead has a fine collection of log structures, which are in good condition. The house is vacant; however, the farmstead is still being used for cattle and the buildings, for the most part, are well maintained.

Killaloe Village

Site #20 on German Settlement Road

Stage: The Best Years 1860-1890;
         Decline 1890-

Pattern: Land   - cleared fields, scrub forest,
                        confluence of Brudenell and
                        Brennan Creeks
         Roads   - side-road connected to Opeongo
                        colonization road
         Demarcations - mill village
         Buildings   - grist mill, commercial build-
                        ing, square-timber house.

138. Killaloe commercial building, east face. Autumn 1977.

Killaloe is a typical mill village located north of the Opeongo road on Highway 512 where Brudenell and Brennan Creeks join. The village of Killaloe declined during the period after 1890, when the Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound railway went through a few miles to the north, and a new village called Killaloe Station was established at the railroad line.

The mill is a four-level frame structure which partly overhangs the creek. The basement level, of cut-stone, houses a water-powered turbine. Largely subterranean, this basement level is exposed on the north side where the bank cuts away and three windows let in light. The creek is dammed and water can be channelled to the basement-level machinery. The first and second floors have several windows with 6-over-6 sashes and there are two windows under the roof gable. The front of the building is set below the level of Highway 512 and there are double doors on the first and second levels. The south side of the building also has

three doors. The mill building is in good condition and the owner plans to turn it into a water-powered door and sash factory.

Across from the mill is a square-timber house that was probably used as a store. The building has the typical commercial form of gable-end to street.

The front facade is covered in board-and-batten, has a centre door with three windows on the first level and two on the second level under the roof gable. There is a small door on the south side of the structure and two windows on the north side.

Just north of the mill is a square-timber log house of the typical "second house" form, with a small dormer over the door and two windows on the side under the gable. Killaloe village presents an interesting illustration of the decline of a typical colonization-road village, when compared to the larger and more prosperous Killaloe Station located on the railway line.

Footnotes

1. These descriptions are based on historical and field re-
    search; however, our research was by no means exhaustive
    and so must be concerned with probabilities rather than
    certainties.

2. Richard Lambert, Paul Pross, Renewing Nature's Wealth,
    Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, Toronto, 1976.
    p. 89.

3. Edwin C. Guillet, The Story of Canadian Roads, Universi-
    ty of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1966. p. 56-57.

4. John I. Rempel, Building with Wood, University of Toron-
    to Press, Toronto, 1972. p. 143-144.

5. See Catalogue of Sites in this section for examples of
    log schools and stone churches at Vanbrugh, Rockingham,
    Esmonde and Brudenell.

6. See Catalogue of Sites in this section for examples of
    typical square-timber commercial buildings at Mount St.
    Patrick and Killaloe.

7. See Catalogue of Sites in this section for an example of
    a saw mill at Mount St. Patrick.

139.   Mount St. Patrick village.
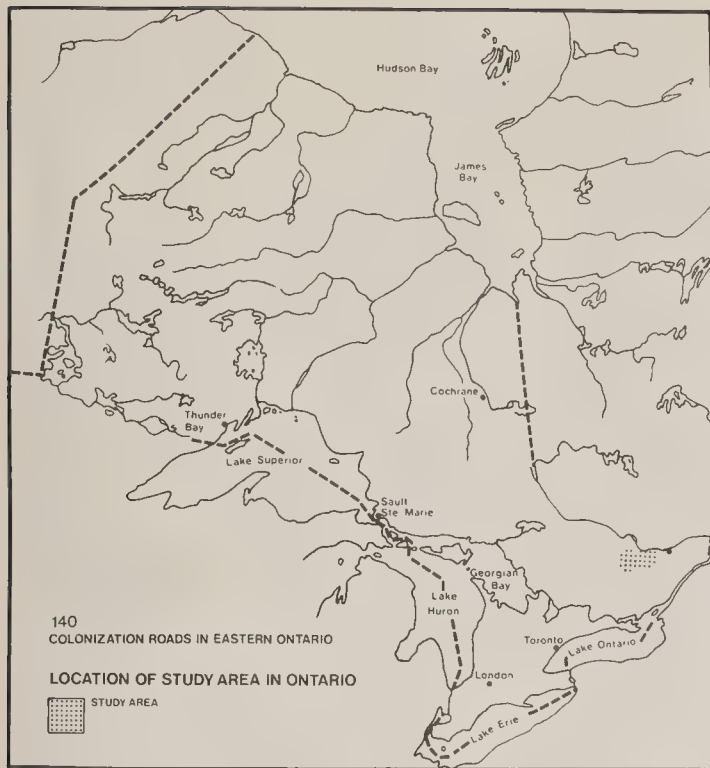
Introduction

This section is designed to provide information and suggest methods for preserving and presenting heritage resources associated with colonization roads.

The recommendations presented here are based on historical and architectural research described in Sections I and II of this report.

The Planning Section includes:

1. Interpretive themes - description of two themes that can be used to interpret the existing landscape and thereby illustrate what can be told about the history of colonization roads and how structures and landforms can be used to relate this story.

2. Study areas - evaluation of four of the colonization roads in Ontario in terms of their historical resources and potential to represent the interpretive themes. Details of specific resources on each road are included.

3. Planning recommendations - description of methods and programs designed to preserve heritage sites and interpret colonization-road history, centering on the concept of a scenic-historical route, with recommendations for implementation of these programs.

140
COLONIZATION ROADS IN EASTERN ONTARIO

LOCATION OF STUDY AREA IN ONTARIO

STUDY AREA

141. *Abandoned barn, Hastings road near Ormsby. Summer 1976.*

Interpretive Themes

This region of eastern Ontario was initially occupied by lumbermen, intent on exploiting the vast pine resources. Agricultural settlement followed as an adjunct to the lumbering industry. Squatters capitalized on the captive market of the lumber camps by growing fodder crops on small farms. Population pressure in the southern part of the province resulted in a strong political push to colonize this region. Settlement roads lined by free-grant lots were built to connect the Shield region to the settled Front townships. The colonization scheme was an attempt to impose a southern-Canadian agricultural pattern on a region ill-suited for this kind of development. The result of the colonization scheme along with the unremitting exploitation of the forest was the creation of a unique cultural landscape[1] characterized by abandoned farms, over-grown fields and cut-over forests. It is fascinating that this landscape still exists with little change, other than the attrition of older buildings and the addition of straighter roads.

The history of the colonization roads is part of the greater story of the Ottawa Valley lumber industry and farming in the southern region of the Precambrian Shield.[2] Two interpretive themes, entitled "Man and the Land" and "Settlement Experience", are described here. The themes outline road history and relate it to the broader story of lumbering and agriculture.

Man and the Land is the more general theme, describing the history of colonization roads in terms of development and abandonment of a farming and lumbering region. The Settlement Experience theme discusses the individual aspect of the pioneer's life and struggle. These themes can be used as tools to provide an understanding of colonization-road history to contemporary Canadians, through the interpretation of existing structures and landforms.

Man and the Land

The most significant interpretive theme for colonization roads is the interaction of man and the land. This theme encompasses a hundred-year period from 1820 to 1920. Initially, lumbermen and a few squatters settled in the area and began their cutting and crop-raising. With the expansion of the lumber industry and population pressure from the south, came the building of colonization roads and free-grant lots. The lots were quickly taken up by Upper-Canadian farmers and newly-arrived immigrants. For a 40-year period from 1850 to 1890, those farmers blessed with better soils did well, selling their summer produce to the lumber camps and often working in those same shanties in the winter months. Villages were established during this period to service shantymen travelling to their winter camps and to provide a communications focus and supplies for outlying farmsteads. Villages were situated at physically-favorable and well-travelled locations near good farm areas, mill sites or important cross-roads.

Decline of the road settlements came in the 1890's; lumbermen left the depleted forests and farmers, deprived of the shanty market, were forced to leave also. For a time farming and lumbering had achieved a type of symbiosis; unfortunately, this was based on the unremitting exploitation of forest and soil resources. It was originally expected that a stable agricultural economy would develop in this region but this was an unrealistic hope. The soil was too thin and patchy, the climate too harsh to grow large yields, and the area too isolated to provide good markets. Overly optimistic hopes, greedy exploitation and a failure to understand the region's actual potential had resulted in the creation of an abandoned lumbering and farming district. The region could have supported a number of part-time farmers and lumber operators for an indefinite period, but only if the soil and forest resources had been conserved.

With abandonment and withdrawal, this landscape did not change radically from its 19th-century form. Many farms were deserted and second-growth forests grew up in the former fields and pastures. Those farms that remained in operation

142. *Abandoned colonization road farm, southwest face, Esmonde, Opeongo road. Summer 1976.*

kept their 19th-century appearance with their log buildings and split-rail fences. They continued to be operated in much the same way with small fields and limited use of machinery. The traditional fodder crops were used in summer dairying. Lumber activities continued on a much reduced scale and, until recently, many saw mills were operating in this region. Abandonment of farms continues. There have been no forces for change, such as large-scale mining or industry, to radically alter the area; and so it remains a farming and lumbering landscape, arrested in its stage of decline.

Settlement Experience

The interpretive theme of the experience of settlement describes the life of individual farm families on colonization roads. The road-settlers' experience paralleled that of the early Upper-Canadian pioneers as they struggled under adverse conditions to establish farms in the wilderness. Their day-to-day life of clearing, planting and harvesting recalls for us a time when most Canadians were farming people. Isolation and perseverance were important aspects in the settlers' experience. Isolation forced them to achieve a sort of self-sufficiency; perseverance helped them to clear their fields, build their homes and stay. Social and religious forces were extremely important. Building-bees, gatherings, dances, story-telling and songs were all an important part of pioneer life, helping to overcome isolation, and were an expression of the settlers' culture. Religion was an integral part of their lives, making their lonely and difficult existence more bearable.

Presentation of Interpretive Themes

The two interpretive themes can be presented to the public at sites which remain on the roads. Certain aspects of each theme are represented by structures and landscapes that retain their historical appearance or illustrate the effect of 19th-century activity.

The theme Man and the Land has countless physical representations in the landscape today; visitors can still see a 19th-century farming-lumbering district in the buildings and roads, and in the landscape itself.

The initial period of settlement is still visible in numerous farmsteads scattered along the length of the roads. It is often the case that an original shanty or a shanty-style building is still being used as an outbuilding in a farm complex. The second phase of development on these

143. Shanty-style sheds on Davidson Century Farm, Opeongo road. Summer 1976.
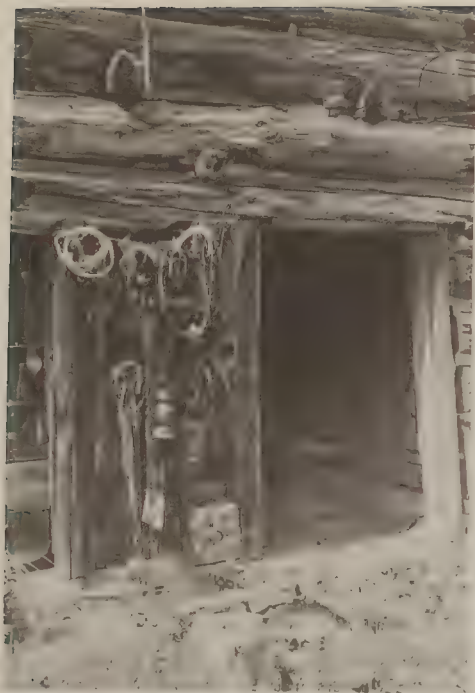
144.
Detail, door
of shanty-shed,
Davidson farm.
Summer 1976.

log outbuildings representative of this phase of development.

Variations of the mid-to-late-19th-century village pattern are still evident; for example, Dacre on the Opeongo is a crossroads village situated at a major intersection. Structures such as schools, churches, stopping-places and stores are scattered along the roads today, remnants of former villages. These represent one aspect of the theme, Man and the Land: the period when colonization-road settlements were flourishing.

Apart from structural remains, the topography also evokes this theme of Man and the Land. Abandoned farmsteads and fields remind us of the spent efforts of farmers forced to leave their homes. Second-growth forests remind us that the entire area was cut over by lumbermen or settled by farmers. Heavily-eroded areas remain as the consequence of timber operations, forest fires and farming practices.

There is much still left on the landscape to represent

Shield farms was marked by the construction of solid square-timber buildings and coincided with the growth of the successful farming ventures in the 1860's and 70's. These structures were similar to the comfortable "second house" built of logs by earlier settlers in Upper Canada. Availability of materials and expertise guaranteed that these log homes were still constructed on the roads as late as the 1920's and 30's in the same style as earlier farm houses. Many occupied and recently-abandoned farms still have the square-timber farm house, sometimes covered with siding, and

145. Dacre, Opeongo road, looking east from cross-road. Autumn 1977.

the Settlement Experience theme. The isolation and subsequent self-sufficiency of settlers is illustrated by complete farmsteads which contain elements necessary for survival: e.g. wells, orchards, outbuildings. Interiors exhibit pioneer handiwork in the detailing of hand-cut floorboards and hand-made furniture. The perseverence of farmers is eloquently recalled in lengths of split-rail fences, rock piles and uprooted stumps which are products of their land-clearing efforts. Social and religious forces are represented by the old stopping-places, churches and graveyards, reminders of the life and culture of these frontier farmers.

On the land, areas which have returned to forest evoke the farmers who tried and were defeated. The few existing fields reveal the thin and stony soil which was a constant trial to pioneer farmers. In a few areas, roads which follow their uneven and circuitous original routes suggest the difficult and dangerous travelling conditions that isolated road-settlers from the rest of the province.

147. *Headstone, German Settlement cemetery. Autumn 1977.*

146. *German Settlement cemetery, looking southeast. Autumn 1977.*

148
COLONIZATION ROADS   EASTERN ONTARIO

Colonization Road – passable	– – – – –
Colonization Road – impassable	··········
Highway	—⬭90—
Lakes & Rivers	⬭
Connecting Side Road	– · – · –

0   4   8   12   Miles

N

OTTAWA RIVER

Round Lake

62

62

60

Madawaska River

60   Bark Lake P.O.

Barry's Bay

Whitney

Bark Lake

Wilno
German Settlement
O'Grady
Hopefield

Golden Lake
Killaloe

Brudenell

Eganville

Bonnechere River

Douglas

Castleford
(Farrels Landing)

60   RENFREW

17

Ferguslea

Shamrock

132

Foymount   Clear Lake

Clontarf

Scotch Bush
Balaclava

O P E O N G O   R O A D

Esmonde   Dacre

Rockingham

Letterkenny

Newfoundout

Mount St Patrick

Combermere

127

Quadeville

Madawaska   River

Palmer
Rapids

52

PETERSON   ROAD

41

Kennelly's Mt.

Calabogie Lake

Black
Donald
Lake

Maynooth

ADDINGTON   ROAD

Denbigh

17

MISSISSIPPI   ROAD

BANCROFT
(York Bridge)

MONCK   ROAD

500

L'Amable

HASTINGS   ROAD

62

41

Ormsby

Cloyne

ADDINGTON   RD

Murphy
Corners

Glenmire

Millbridge

Study Areas

In the eastern-Ontario region, four colonization roads were examined in great detail with regard to their potential to represent the interpretive themes: Man and the Land; and Settlement Experience. Three criteria were used to make this evaluation: the number of buildings that date from or represent the 19th century; the extent of road which approximated its original route and form; the relative freedom from intrusions of modern development. The Opeongo, Peterson, Addington and Hastings roads were evaluated under these criteria.

It was found that the Opeongo road was the best resource in terms of the three criteria. The Addington, Hastings and Peterson roads all have extensive sections overlaid by highway or completely abandoned and no longer passable.[3] The Opeongo stretches from Castleford on the Ottawa River to Madawaska village. The road still follows its original route quite faithfully, and is lined by many second-stage log farmsteads with stone and split-rail fences. It has many buildings that represent the interpretive themes: For example, churches, schools, saw mills and old hotels.

Large sections of the road retain their 19th-century appearance and the absence of modern developments such as gas stations, motels and trailer parks contributes to this historical flavor. These factors make the Opeongo a unique resource, probably the closest depiction of a 19th-century farming-lumbering landscape left in Canada today.

The Opeongo road has three sections where the resources are particularly well concentrated. These, with Peterson and Addington roads, make up the five study areas discussed hereafter.

Eastern Opeongo Road

This section runs from the eastern border of Brougham township to Davidson's Corners in Grattan township.

The Opeongo originated at the Ottawa River but free-grant lots were not surveyed until it reached Brougham township and it is here that the road begins to most closely approximate its 19th-century appearance. The road is overlaid by pavement and has been straightened from Castleford to Dacre. Just beyond Dacre the old Opeongo road begins; although this section has also been straightened, the dirt surface, remaining curves and hills and split-rail fencing do recall the former bone-shaking colonization road.

Within this eastern-road area are numerous resources:

Upper Dacre

This is a typical cross-roads village which flourished during the hey-day of colonization roads in the 1860-1890 period. A hotel, several homes, a church and a school remain to suggest former village functions.

Theme representation: Man and the Land

Lower Dacre

This village is and was much smaller than its counterpart. Remaining today are the cemetery and several log houses. Exploring cemeteries can inform visitors about the settlers' lives, their ethnic background and the harsh conditions that frequently brought early death.

Theme representation: Settlement Experience

149. *Legris House, Upper Dacre, Opeongo road. Summer 1976.*

Balaclava

This village is situated on an old route from Eganville
to Calabogie at an important mill site. The 125-year-old
Balaclava saw mill represents the lumber industry and its
importance to the local economy. The saw mill is a superb
resource combining historical appearance: a complete set
of water-driven machinery and associated features such as
a sawdust burner, wooden tramways, a dam and rails for taking
logs from the water. "No other surviving example, embracing
such a unique combination of features is thought to exist,
at least in Ontario." [4]

Theme representation: Man and the Land

150. *Balaclava saw mill and sawdust burner, Bonnechere-
Madawaska road. Summer 1976.*

Mount St. Patrick

Located 3 miles south of the Opeongo, this village is
located in a favorable farming area at the foot of the moun-
tain. The village has a store, church, cemetery and several
houses. There is a saw mill nearby. These resources sug-
gest the history of land use by chronicling the development
of rural communities. The church and cemetery also suggest
the life of early settlers.

Theme representation: Man and the Land
Settlement Experience

151. *Farmstead, Mount St. Patrick. Autumn 1977.*

Esmonde

This was once a typical road village, established in a favorable location and centred around the church, post office and school. The stone church represents the importance their religion had to early settlers, because it was built by local volunteer labor. Stone quarried at the nearby Davidson farm was used in the church's construction. The abandoned Curry farm, beside the church, is a good representation of a typical farmstead with the original shanty, "second house" and several log outbuildings. The farmhouse doubled as a post office and has an addition or side-room for that purpose. An insul-brick school building also remains on the site and represents a stage in the development of road communities.

  Theme representation: Man and the Land
             Settlement Experience

152. *Barn, abandoned farmstead, site #5, Newfoundout.*
   Autumn 1976.

Newfoundout

Across from Davidson's farm is a small dirt road branching off the Opeongo that leads to the abandoned farm-community of Newfoundout. The road is twisting and tortuous and helps us to recall the hardships of settlers trying to transport their produce and supplies. Four abandoned farms in various stages of disintegration present one of the most dramatic examples of the life and hard times of Shield settlers. The tiny pockets of good land are strewn with boulders and huge stone fences line the fields. One farmstead has a shed with the scoop-roof construction typical of the first structures built in the original clearings.

  Theme representation: Man and the Land
             Settlement Experience

Farmsteads

There are many occupied and abandoned farmsteads along the Opeongo, from Renfrew through to Barry's Bay. Most have log outbuildings and some have log farmhouses. These log farmsteads appear much as they would have in the 19th century; pasture and abandoned fields remain and the buildings still reflect obvious functions.

Theme representation: Man and the Land
Settlement Experience

153. *Farmstead with attached barns, Opeongo road. Summer 1976.*

Central Opeongo Road

This section of the Opeongo runs from Davidson's Corners to Brudenell. It is mainly a dirt road, except for a few miles between Foymount and Brudenell, and still has a 19th-century appearance with numbers of log farmsteads, cleared fields, split-rail fences, isolated churches and cemeteries. There are several remnant communities along this section of the road which do not contain as many elements as the villages in the eastern section. These remnant communities at one time took the ribbon shape of a typical road settlement which could stretch for miles along the road. [5]

Clontarf

The site of this village is marked by a cluster of farmsteads and two churches.

Theme representation: Man and the Land

154. *St. Clement's Anglican Church, Clontarf, Opeongo road. Autumn 1977.*

Vanbrugh

The former village of Vanbrugh has a few farmsteads and a cemetery. The farms remain to mark the areas of better soil where agriculture could survive for longer periods. They also show that the village, which has effectively disappeared, was located in a better farming area.

Theme representation: Man and the Land

Brudenell

This village was located at the junction of the Peterson and Opeongo roads. Homes, a church and the old Costello hotel indicate some of the functions this village once fulfilled.

Theme representation: Man and the Land

Western Opeongo Road

This part of the colonization road runs from Brudenell through Hopefield and Barry's Bay and ends at a point past Carson Lake. The main road deviates past Hopefield and turns north to join with Highway 60. The original route went straight into Barry's Bay.

Hopefield

There is an old school house and some farms at this location. Just past Hopefield on the original route of the Opeongo is an operating saw mill and an old stopping-place.

Theme representation: Man and the Land
                      Settlement Experience

Wilno

This village is approximately three miles north of the Opeongo and was established by Polish settlers who came in on the colonization road. Here the cathedral and site of the first Polish church reminds us of the importance of religion

155. *Wilno farmstead, site #4, south face, German Settlement road. Autumn 1976.*

to these new immigrants. There are several fine examples of log farmsteads in this region, one in particular is on the same road as the site of the first Polish church. From the cathedral one can see a beautiful view of the Bonnechere Valley.

Theme representation: Settlement Experience

Barry's Bay railway station

This structure which is now a senior citizens' community centre represents the period of decline for colonization roads when the railways usurped their function in the 1890's.

Theme representation: Man and the Land

Bark Lake post office

West of Barry's Bay the Opeongo is covered by paved Highway 60; however, just west of Carson Lake the old road deviates off the highway and on this section is an old post office. The post office was part of a square-timber log farm house. A banked log shed and log barn complete the farm assemblage. This post office, in its forest setting, illustrates the isolation of Shield farmers.

Theme representation: Settlement Experience

156. Bark Lake Post Office, northeast face, Opeongo road. Autumn 1976.

Peterson Road

Rockingham village

This village was established at a mill site in the 1860's. Rockingham still has several buildings representing distinct functions including the school, general store, the church and cemetery with the graves of the village's founders.

Theme representation: Man and the Land
                      Settlement Experience

Addington Road

Letterkenny settlement

Letterkenny is another example of an elongated or ribbon settlement that has almost disappeared. Only the cleared fields and operating farms are left to mark an area of better soils. The Letterkenny church is still used for services.

Theme representation: Man and the Land
                      Settlement Experience

157. *Letterkenny Church, west face, Addington road. Autumn 1977.*

158. *Farmhouse, in process of restoration, Denbigh, Addington road.*

Planning Recommendations

Introduction

Hamlets scattered along roads lined with farmsteads, all in a variety of conditions, represent the history of colonization roads in this region. Considering such resources, the task of preserving this variety of sites is not an easy one. No one village now has all the standard elements which it once contained. The entire Opeongo region makes up the resource with its farms, villages, overgrown roads, fences, orchards and fields. To adequately explain the story of the roads and the settlers, the Opeongo region must be taken as a whole; it is the repetition of 19th-century elements that makes it unique. All the remnants described in the study areas are worth consideration, as parts of a larger group whose value would certainly be diminished if a number of the parts were lost. The sites best suited to present colonization-road history are not on Crown or public land. The resource is linear with relevant sites and landscapes occurring at intervals; it is almost impossible to find a compact area that could be used to present the interpretive themes in all their aspects.

The main goal in preserving these remnants of the colonization-road history is twofold: to save those sites and landscapes, the parts of the whole which make up a unique regional and provincial resource; to develop a coherent program by which that aspect of provincial history can be presented to interested visitors.

Scenic-Historical Route

The best approach to preserving and presenting heritage sites and landscapes in the Opeongo region would be through the concept of a scenic-historical route. Key sites could be primarily privately owned, but developed as a tourist attraction by a public association with the assistance of provincial and municipal government programs.

The interpretive themes of the man-land relationship and experience of settlement can be well represented to the public through development of a scenic-historical route. The route itself could be highlighted by a route map and film and could be interpreted as a series of nodes or special places where visitors can stop and experience the past in a variety of ways. These special places situated along the original route would include: trails, scenic views and picnic spots; museums and interpretive centres; stabilized abandoned structures such as farms, churches, or sawmills; and operating sites such as a working farm or stopping-place. To facilitate planning for this historical route concept, the various special places and interpretive media will be treated as separate components in an overall planning scheme. These components should be considered separately for implementation because any one or combination of components can be used to interpret the colonization roads, as time, funding and expertise allow. For example, a route map and picnic sites would provide low-key but adequate initial interpretive and recreational possibilities, while a full-scale effort involving all the components such as trails, museums, etc., could be developed later, each most likely funded separately.

This plan, using elements located along an historical route, distributes the benefits of historical preservation and restoration throughout Renfrew County and attracts visitors to points all along the route. Of major importance to the implementation of this plan is the preservation of existing structures and road configurations that represent the late 19th century. Many of these structures are described in the Catalogue of Sites section of this report.

These buildings are endangered by fire, vandalism and people who dismantle the square-timber buildings to sell the logs. If these buildings are destroyed and new developments such as gas stations, motels and road-straightening take place on the actual colonization road, the resource will lose its potential as an historical route.

Scenic-Historical Route: Implementation

There are two very important aspects to implementing the scenic-historical route: the preservation of structures, buildings and landscapes which comprise the route and the establishment of an organization in each area, presumably for each road, which would spearhead the efforts of local residents to preserve the roads. Existing provincial legislation and programs can be used toward the goal of preservation. An Opeongo Line Association has existed and could be a prototype for the spearhead organization needed.

The Road Association

A non-profit association, could make a very important contribution to the creation of a scenic-historical route. The organization could be patterned on the former Opeongo Line Association, with interested private citizens and representatives from local tourist associations on the board; however, representatives from municipal governments, from the County Development Office, and Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committees, could also take part as members. The association, as a non-profit organization, could apply for and administer grants from government agencies for a variety of projects elaborated on the following pages. It could purchase sites with funds raised locally or receive donations or bequests of heritage sites and the association could help expedite the municipal designation of heritage sites under The Ontario Heritage Act. The group could enter into an intensive program to educate local residents and especially owners of historical buildings and landscapes on the importance of those sites and their potential.

159. *Kennelly's Mountain, south of Mount St. Patrick.*

Resource Preservation

The Ontario Heritage Act, 1974, has two parts which could be of use in conserving the historical resources we have described. By the Act, much of the initiative for historical resource preservation is defined as the responsibility of the municipality in which the resource is located. The principal tool is the process of designation by municipal bylaw.

A municipal council may designate an individual building of historical or architectural significance by passing a by-law which can delay major alteration or demolition. Councils are also authorized by the Act to purchase or lease any property which it has designated. They may also enter into an easement or covenant which is registered against the deed where the building has been designated.

Councils can also define the municipality or one or more areas within it as an area to be examined for designation as a heritage conservation district. Among the informal criteria for selection of districts are:

1. a majority of buildings should reflect an aspect of the history of the community by nature of their location and historical significance of their setting;

2. the majority of the buildings should be of a style of architecture or method of construction which is significant historically or architecturally to the community, region, or the province.

The physical representations of colonization road history seem well-suited to these criteria.

Implementation of these parts of the Act involves the formation of a Local Architectural Conservation Advisory Committee and amendment of the municipality's official plan.[6]

Resource preservation could also be approached through the auspices of The Ontario Heritage Foundation. The Ontario Heritage Foundation is an agency of the provincial government concerned with advising the government on matters of heritage or related interest. Among its powers are those which allow it to acquire property of historical, architectural, archae-ological, recreational, aesthetic and scenic interest and enter into agreements, covenants and easements with owners of real property in order to conserve heritage aspects of that property. The Foundation can also enter into agreements with persons concerning any matter within its goals and provide financial assistance by grants or loans for educational, research and communications programs, maintenance, restoration and renovation of property and management, custody and security of property.

There are several other land-control and acquisition strategies which might be applied to preserve individual sites. These are: scenic easements, income-tax incentives and zoning to prevent development. These strategies could be used in future to establish linear "parks" where development and preservation of certain sites were controlled by a public agency or government body while the sites were still privately-owned. It should be noted that these strategies, while having considerable potential as effective tools, have not yet been completely tested. It is also possible that individual sites in the Opeongo region might be considered for purchase as provincial or municipal parks to offer partial interpretation of the total colonization road history.

Interpretation Scheme Components

The components outlined here are suggestions for interpretive media and use of sites. They are designed to present the interpretive themes of Man and the Land and Settlement Experience along a colonization road. As described in the Study Area section, the Opeongo and connected portions of the Peterson and Addington roads have a high concentration of historical resources and a definite 19th-century appearance. It is suggested, therefore, that the three roads be taken together as a possible scenic-historical route. Suggested candidate-sites for the components described below are taken from these three road areas.

Route Map

The route map is crucial to the presentation of a scenic-historical route as it describes and locates all the other interpretation scheme components. The route map would be a heritage highway brochure indicating the entire colonization-road network in eastern Ontario and specifically outlining selected areas along the Opeongo road and its extensions which best describe the historical themes and represent the architecture of the period.

The route map would provide a brief outline giving the history of the region, describing two interpretive themes, Man and the Land the Settlement Experience, and giving an explanation of the typical architectural styles and village patterns which can be found along the roads.

Sites, building groupings and landforms which best illustrate the history and architecture of the roads will be pointed out on the map. A sample list is:

Upper Dacre - a typical crossroads village;

Balaclava - a unique example of a water-powered saw mill
      - a typical mill village;

Curry farm, Esmonde - a complete abandoned farmstead
      with original shanty and second
      log house;

Newfoundout - an abandoned farming community
      - a reforestation project, an example of
      modern land use;

Raycroft farm - site of an old stopping-place;

Clontarf hillside - an overgrown pasture showing recent
      second-growth trees;

Plaunts mountain - an example of difficult travelling
      conditions on the roads
      - a view of Lake Clear;

Brudenell - a crossroads village with an architecturally
      unique stopping-place, Costello's hotel;

Rockingham - once a mill village, it is highlighted by
      the church on a hill overlooking the village with founder's gravestone in the cemetery;

Addington road - Letterkenny, a farming settlement;

Bark Lake post office - combined log farmstead and post
      office restored to original
      appearance.

The information to be included in the brochure and final choice of sites to be highlighted can be taken direct from research sections of this report and should be influenced by local needs and choices.

Funding for this project might be obtained from several agencies: Wintario; Heritage Canada; or the Ontario Ministry of Industry and Tourism.[7]

Individual Sites

Various representative sites such as saw mills, abandoned and working farms, churches and school houses can be explored by visitors. These sites must be maintained.[8] Abandoned sites could be stabilized in their present condition to illustrate the effect of the passage of time. Some sites could be restored to their former appearance. Arrangements could be made with farm owners to allow visitors at certain times.

These sites can be interpreted with displays, brochures, tour guides,[9] or they can be left as they are to offer a self-guided experience to visitors.[10]

List of Candidate Sites for Preservation

Shamrock farmstead

      - abandoned farm 2 miles west of Shamrock at intersection with Mount St. Patrick Road.

160
COLONIZATION ROADS   EASTERN ONTARIO

Colonization Road – passable	- - - - -
Colonization Road – impassable	·········
Highway	—⊙90—
Lakes & Rivers	
Connecting Side Road	- - - - -
Candidate Site	*

0   4   8   12   Miles

LOCATION OF CANDIDATE SITES

Round Lake
62
60
Madawaska River
Whitney
Bark Lake P.O.
Barry's Bay
Bark Lake
60
62
Golden Lake
Wilno
O'Grady
German Settlement
Kiltalee
Hopefield
Eganville
Douglas
Bonnechere River
60
Castleford (Farrel's Landing)
RENFREW
OTTAWA RIVER
17
127
Rockingham
Brudenell
Foymount
Clear Lake
Clontart
OPEONGO ROAD
Esmonde
Scotch Bush
Balaclava
Dacre
132
Shamrock
Fergusles
PETERSON ROAD
52
Combermere
Letterkenny
Newfoundout
Mount St Patrick
Palmer Rapids
Quadeville
Madawaska River
ADDINGTON ROAD
41
Kennelly's Mt
Calabogie Lake
Black Donald Lake
Maynooth
Denbigh
MISSISSIPPI ROAD
N
HASTINGS ROAD
MONCK ROAD
500
BANCROFT (York Bridge)
L'Amable
62
ADDINGTON ROAD
41
Cloyna
Ormsby
Murphy Corners
Glenmire
Millbridge

Dacre

- the Dacre church
- the homes at the Dacre cross-roads.

Balaclava

- the Balaclava saw mill and warehouse
- the general store.

Esmonde

- the church
- the Curry farmstead.

Davidson's Corners

- Davidson Century farm.

Newfoundout

- at least two abandoned farmsteads.

Clontarf

- Raycroft's stopping-place
- St. John's Lutheran Church at Krugars Creek.

Log farmsteads

- efforts should be made to preserve a substantial number of buildings along the roads.

Vanbrugh

- school house.

Brudenell

- school house
- Costello hotel
- commercial buildings
- St. Mary's Church, cemetery, parish house, community hall.

Hopefield

- Etmanski's saw mill
- old stopping-place with gingerbread detailing on verandah.

Barry's Bay

- railway station
- water tower.

Bark Lake

- post office
- farmstead.

Rockingham

- St. Leonard's Church, cemetery
- schoolhouse.

Letterkenny

- general store
- church.

Wilno

- cathedral
- farmstead on road to German Settlement.

German Settlement

- cemetery.

Killaloe

- mill
- commercial building.

Mount St. Patrick

- saw mill
- church, cemetery
- general store
- homes.

Trails

Trails provide an immediate experience of the natural and cultural landscape. Visitors can travel the old road-ways and view both abandoned sites and historic farmsteads still in use. The Shield landscape provides the opportunity for the development of a wide variety of trails.

1. Short hiking trails - These can be located at major road deviations where the original colonization road and present highway diverge, and along side-roads leading to areas inaccessible by car.

   Possible trail locations:

   - Farrells Landing where the new highway has by-passed the old road, trail would connect to a highway at both ends;

   - Dacre, where the highway by-passes the old road;

   - Hopefield, where the old road leads into Barry's Bay;

   - Newfoundout side-road from Davidson's Corners;

   - Wilno side-road leading past site of first Polish church and an abandoned farmstead.

2. Longer hiking trails - A system of trails along the sides of the colonization roads could be developed on the same lines as the Rideau trail. The route could deviate from the road to take in interesting sites such as water falls, lakes, farms, etc. Route specifics are not outlined here but it could stretch from Renfrew through Barry's Bay to Algonquin Park.

3. Bicycle trails - A system of cycle trails would bring bicycle enthusiasts to the area. Routes originating in Eganville can loop sections of the Opeongo road and provide an excellent recreational and historical experience.

   Possible Locations:

   - south from Eganville through Douglas and Martin's Corners, McDougall and Ferguslea, west along the Opeongo to Dacre, north on 513;

   - south on 512 to Foymount, west along the Opeongo to Hopefield, north on side-roads to German Settlement and Killaloe, east on side-roads to Eganville.

4. Other trails - Trails for horseback riding, cross-country skiing and snowmobiling provide year-round recreational opportunities. They require such support facilities as parking lots, stables and ski huts, located close to the main road. The trails should take in as much of a variety of historical and scenic resources as possible.

Trails can be designed by any local association which can then apply to the Ontario Trails Council Chairman to arrange for official designation of an historical route. The Ministry of Natural Resources may assume partial or total responsibility for the maintenance of the trail.

Museums

Museums can be used to interpret the themes of Man and the Land and Settlement Experience. There are several different types of museums:

1. A static restoration - This is a site that has been restored to its former appearance with all its physical accoutrements such as furniture, pots and pans, and machinery. A farmstead or farm and stopping-place combined would provide an excellent site for such a museum and would present the experience of settlement to visitors.

2. An operating restoration - This is a working site where the visitor can view the operations of an historical structure. A grist mill such as the Killaloe mill or the Balaclava saw mill could be returned to its former working condition and be open for guided tours.

3. Static collections - This type of museum houses a

COLONIZATION ROADS EASTERN ONTARIO

Colonization Road – passable	– – – – –
Colonization Road – impassable	
Connecting Side Road	
Short Hiking Trail	
Longer Hiking Trail	
Bicycle Trail	

0   4   8   12
Miles

LOCATION OF CANDIDATE TRAILS

169
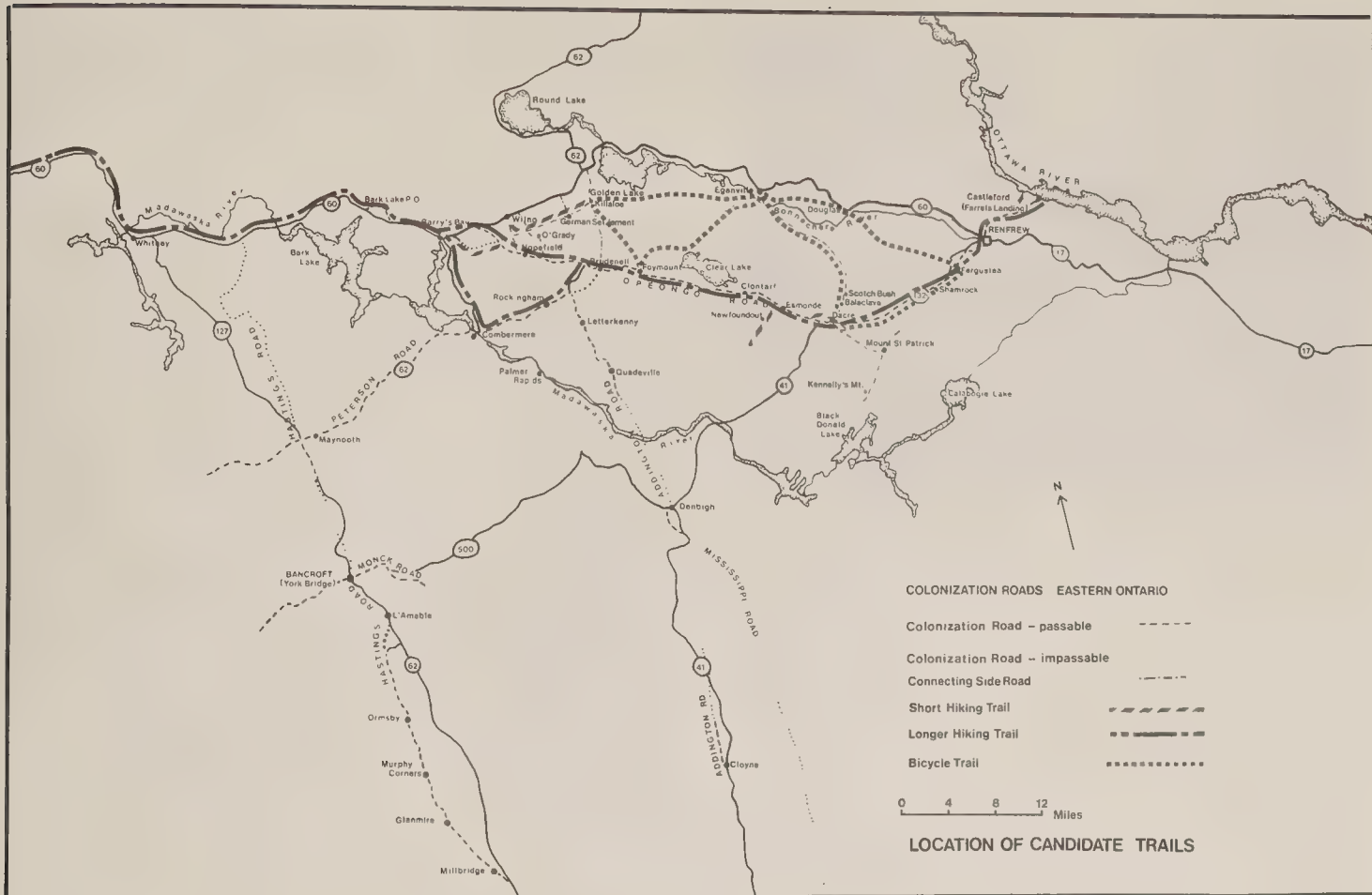
162. *Steam saw mill, Hardwood Lake. Summer 1976.*

collection of artifacts relating to the history of
a region. Displays might include early clothing,
farm implements, etc.

4. Interpretive centre – This can function in or near
a museum, perhaps in another room or building. The
centre's function would be to present the histori-
cal theme of land use through displays of photo-
graphs, maps and possibly an audio-visual show, with
short explanations. Visitors could pick up route-
maps and brochures, or arrange to go on guided tours
from this location.

The Ministry of Culture and Recreation, through its
Heritage Administration Branch, offers three types of grants
to museums: establishment; development; and maintenance.
Wintario also provides grants for museums from their Heri-
tage Conservation Program under several categories.[11]

It should be noted that while a museum is an effective
means of presentation, too many similar museums in a limited
area are an unfortunate duplication of effort which may not
attract a great number of visitors.

Audio-Visual Show

An audio-visual show presenting the interpretive themes
and their graphic representations could be produced to be
shown in the locality and associated centres, e.g. Algonquin
Park.

The presentation would be a description of the history
of land use, starting with the lumber industry, describing
agricultural settlement and outlining the eventual abandonment
of the region. The film would conclude with an examination
of present-day land use, including reforestation projects and
recreation areas.

Wintario grants are available for audio visual shows
under the category of media projects.

Local Crafts

Local crafts that are produced using 19th-century meth-
ods present material reminders of the Settlement Experience
that visitors can take away with them. These productions
could be sold in towns such as Renfrew or Barry's Bay and at
locations along the roads such as museums and general stores.

An organized effort to establish the production of
crafts such as weaving, quilting and furniture making could
be done under the Canada Works and/or Young Canada Works pro-
grams. The Ministry of Culture and Recreation provides Win-
tario funds for local craft programs also.

Sources of Information

On Wintario contact:

Field Services Branch,
Ministry of Culture and Recreation,
11th Floor, 1 Nicholas St.,
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 7B7

On local craft programs contact:

Job Creation Branch,
Department of Manpower and Immigration,
Canada Square, Box 48,
2180 Yonge Street,
Toronto, Ontario M4S 2X4

On the legislative provisions for preservation of historical structures see:

The Ontario Heritage Act, 1974;

"Guidelines for Designation of Buildings of Architectural and Historic Importance, a handbook for Municipal Councillors", Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

"Guidelines on the Designation of Heritage Conservation Districts"; July 1977, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, available from Ontario Government Bookstore, 880 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario, M7A 1Y7

or write to The Publications Centre, Ministry of Government Services, 3B-7, MacDonald Block, Queen's Park, M7A 1N8, Cost 50¢

or contact the Heritage Administration Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, 7th Floor, 77 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario M7A 2R9.

Further information on sources of funding may be found in:

The Ontario Historical Society Listing of Heritage Funding Sources

June 1976.

The Ontario Historical Society,
1466 Bathurst Street,
Toronto, Ontario M5R 3J3

How to Share in Wintario

Ministry of Culture and Recreation,
Queen's Park,
Toronto, Ontario M7A 2R9

A Directory of Funding Sources

Heritage Canada,
Box 1358, Station B,
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5R4

Footnotes

1. This landscape is described in greater detail in the Resource Analysis and Historical Essay sections.

2. Historical themes relating to colonization-road history are described in the Topical Organization of Ontario History, Historical Sites Branch, Division of Parks, under the sub-themes; The Ottawa Valley Lumber Community; South Shield Agricultural Communities; Ottawa Valley Square Timber; Ottawa Valley Lumber Developments; Huron Ottawa Tract Lumber; South Shield Small Scale Mining.

3. For a more complete description of all four roads, see the Resource Analysis section and the Milepost routes section of this report.

4. Your Forests Vol. 9 /3, Winter 1976, p. 36.

5. See the Resource Analysis section of this report for a description of a typical road village, ribbon settlement.

6. Further information may be obtained from the sources listed on page 171 of this section.

7. Information and examples for heritage highway brochures can be obtained from Environment Canada EcoTour program, Public Information Unit, Canadian Forestry Service, Department of the Environment, Ottawa, Ontario K1A OH5, Tourism Development Opportunities, Trenton Cornwall Zone, Renfrew Kingston Zone, report prepared for the Ontario Ministry of Industry and Tourism by De Leuw Canada Ltd. 1977.

8. See page 164 of this section for information on the designation of historical structures.

9. For information on displays and tours, see the discussion of museums on pages 26 and 28 of this section.

10. Sites are described fully in the Catalogue of Sites, Resource Analysis Section II.

11. Information on lists of funding sources can be found on page 171. The policy for museum grants is in the process of revision.

Appendices and Bibliography

Appendix 1

Historical Resources on the Madawaska River

The Madawaska River was used for many years as a transportation route by shantymen and settlers. It is now proposed to create a wild river park over the upper section of the Madawaska.

The river shares in the history of the Ottawa Valley lumbering industry, and the history of Shield settlement. Lumbering and agricultural resources along the river could be interpreted, with minimal protection, and information given to canoeists.

Following is a list of possible historical sites described by Peter Carruthers, archaeologist with the Historical Planning and Research Branch. It must be noted that library research and actual examination are necessary before they can be properly identified.

Saw Mill

Just below Palmer Rapids Bridge is an old saw mill.

Abandoned Farm (118150, Map 31 F/6, ed. 3, A751).

The farm is located below Aumond Bay on the south bank.

Loggers' Graves (136122, Map 31 F/3, ed. 2, ser. A751).

On the island at the head of Snake Rapids there are supposed to be four graves of timber drivers.

Log Cabin

Just to the south of the island at the head of Snake Rapids is a cabin with tin roof, round logs, chinking and peak over door.

Loggers' Names (215115, Map 31 F/3, ed. 2, ser. A751).

Carved into the rocks on the peninsula on the south bank, at the Slate Falls Portage, are the names of many loggers who died on the river.

Timber Boom (195108, Map 31 F/3, ed. 2, ser. A751).

There are bolt holes in the rocks and an entire drystone wall on the north side of the river to channel the water. Below, are the remnants of booms.

Logger's Memorial (157116, Map 31 F/3, ed. 2, ser. A751).

An oar blade has been snapped in two and nailed onto a tree. Carved into the oar are the words, "Hugh Boyd, drowned in the Rifle Chute, April 29th, 1914." This is located on the north bank of the river at the head of the Rifle Chute Portage.

Log Farm House (240109, Map 31 F/3, ed. 2, ser. A751).

On the south bank, just before Hydes Creek, an old log farm house sits 40 feet above the river on a steep bank.

Depot Farm (255145, Map 31 F/6, ed. 3, ser. A751).

An abandoned farmstead called Strathtay, not visible from the river, could possibly be the site of a depot farm. Farm house is a square-timber, 1½-storey building with barns and sheds. An old fire road leads to the site at the bottom of Jameson's mountain.

Highland Falls (499093, Map 31 F/2, ed. 2, ser. A751).

There may have been a timber slide here; bolts in the rocks mark the spot.

Black Donald Mine

Some village buildings still remain on the hill behind the flooded mine.

Appendix 2

Chronological History of the Opeongo Road

References are noted in short form, the complete reference and its short form appear in the Bibliography.

1807   - Philemon Wright took the first raft of square timber from Ottawa to Quebec, via the Ottawa River (J.H.B. Richards).

1818   - Lt. Catty, Royal Engineers explored the Ottawa-Huron area (B.L.W.).

1826   - James Wadsworth establishes a depot farm on the present-day site of Eganville (Historical Review of Eganville).

          - Lts. Walpole and Briscoe, Royal Engineers, explore the Ottawa-Huron area (B.L.W.).

1829   - Alexander Shirrif reports on possible Ottawa River-Georgian Bay canal, concludes there are millions of acres of good farm land in the region (C.C.K.)

1830's   - Horton township first settled, Grattan township first settled, by squatters, the best land was taken. Admaston and Brougham first settled (Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1881)

          - Lumbering operations reach the upper sections of the Madawaska River system on the York River branch.

1836   - Lt. F. H. Baddely, Royal Engineers, scouts the Ottawa-Huron tract and states that the greater portion of the land was poor - but still favors the idea of colonization roads.

1837   - John Egan buys Wadsworth's farm on the Bonnechere River and later builds a saw mill there at the fifth chute. (Historical Review of Eganville)

          - David Thompson, explorer-surveyor, investigates the possibility of building a canal along the Ottawa River route to Georgian Bay. (C.C.K.)

1840   - The lumber industry is well established in Eganville.

1840's   - Immigration to Canada is slowing.

          - Free grant roads are opened in the Owen Sound area and prove to be a success (R. L. Jones)

1845   - John Egan is elected as a member of the Legislative Assembly, serving until 1854 (C.C.K.)

          - Alex McDonnell, first square-timber entrepreneur to hold extensive limits in the Bonnechere region, begins construction of major improvements to the river system and builds tote roads to the Petawawa and Opeongo Rivers. McDonnell occupies the upper and Egan the lower limits of the Bonnechere. (Ed McKenna)

1849   - Sebastopol township is first settled, though not yet surveyed (Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1881)

1850   - Radcliffe, Sherwood and Jones first settled with squatters prior to survey (Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1881)

          - Robert Bell, Provincial Land Surveyor, is instructed to survey a line of road extending from Farrell's Landing on the Ottawa River to the south shore of Opeongo Lake. (Isobel Jost)

          - Renfrew and Lanark are organized as united counties with the county seat at Perth. (O.V.H.S.A.P)

1851 — A meeting of the united counties of Renfrew and Lanark prepares a memorial to the government concerning the building of a road from the Ottawa River, through the township of Horton and Renfrew village, to the Opeongo Lake, and by further connections to Georgian Bay. (B.L.W.)

— Of 1290 habitations in Renfrew County, more than half are shanties. (Renfrew County Atlas)

— The first mail is delivered to Dacre, (this was prior to the building of the Opeongo road) on horseback from Renfrew. It was delivered to Coles tavern on the banks of Constant Creek by John Morrow, three times a week. (S.S.B.R.)

1852 — Dan McCauley, timber cruiser, is engaged to blaze a road line for the Opeongo and paid with a timber limit which he sells to Skead's firm for 100 pounds sterling. (Harry J. Walker)

— Bell's survey is completed to Bark Lake with the prospect of being carried to Opeongo Lake later. (S.S.B.R.)

1853 — Public Lands Act offers 100-acre gift lots on colonization roads and $30,000 is set aside to build the roads. (Spragge)

— Newly created Bureau of Agriculture is given control of the Colonization Roads Branch. (Spragge)

— John Rolph, first Minister of Agriculture, recommends routes for several roads including the Opeongo. (Spragge)

— A. H. Sims appointed to start the Pembroke and Mattawan road and Opeongo road. (R.C.C.L., 1855)

1854 — A winter road is opened up along Bell's survey line almost to Opeongo Lake. (R.C.C.L., 1855)

Notes on the Opeongo circa 1854 - 1890

There were two bridges over the Bonnechere at different times. The first was named for Johnny Gibbons and went over the flat rapids south of Renfrew, where the Gibbons family had run a ferry. Later a bridge was erected in Renfrew town, partially funded by fines levied on some shantymen called up before Justice of the Peace John Lorne McDougall for "breaking some bones" at the Hobbs farm. Caught by twelve men from Horton armed with guns, the shantymen were fined ten pounds sterling apiece. The bridge was mounted on wooden triangular piers with the sharp edge pointed upstream to break ice and guide logs down stream. (Harry J. Walker)

The Orange Wright Hotel, still standing on the corner of Arthur and Albert Streets in Renfrew, was on route from the second bridge. Noted for its cuisine and housekeeping, it was run by the Wright family until 1873 when the railway came to Renfrew. (Harry J. Walker)

Stopping-places had to fulfill certain government regulations and had to include, "a comfortable sitting room, at least two clean beds, and to be ready at short notice to furnish a good and substantial breakfast, dinner or supper, stable room for three teams of horses, with plenty of hay or oats, have a good shed and spacious yard, well fenced with a good gate to guard the sleighs and baggage of travellers from being injured." There were further restrictions, "No innkeepers shall sell spirituous liquors except to travellers whose place of residence is five or more miles distant from the inn: nor shall any innkeeper suffer any gambling in their house at any time except billiards, where a license has been taken out." (Harry J. Walker)

Along the Opeongo, Farrells Landing, named after Edward Farrell, provided the first stopping-place for settlers. (S.S.B.R.) The road went to Renfrew town where it crossed the Bonnechere River and passed over Carswells Hill.

Ferguslea was the first stopping-place west of Renfrew. It was named after a woolen mill nearby, established by

Ephram Reid and called "Ferguslie" after his home in Scotland. The village was originally called Harty's station after the post office there, but the name was changed in 1892 to Ferguslea. Culhanes stopping-place, located at Ferguslea, was large enough to hold twenty teams of horses. (S.S.B.R.)

Shamrock village was given this name because of the great numbers of Irish settlers along the Opeongo. At its height it was a busy place with two hotels, (one brick) two blacksmith shops, a liquor store, a skimming station for the Renfrew creamery, a log store and a public school. (S.S.B.R.)

Dacre was established at the junction of the Eganville-Mt. St. Patrick road and the Opeongo. Nine miles to the north was the Balaclava saw mill. Dacre was settled by Irish, Scots, Poles and Germans. It was divided into two separate villages, Upper and Lower Dacre. The upper village handled travellers with two large stopping-places, where 50 or 60 horses could be sheltered and fed.

Esmonde was established by T. P. French, the colonization-road agent. Settlers Davidson, Beckett and Curry had been in the area before the road was built. They had come in on a lumber tote road from the Bonnechere River. (Survey Note Book) The village was originally called the Curry Settlement after the man who ran the post office. Curry's farm and post office are still on the Opeongo, beside St. Joseph's Church.

Just up the road is Davidsons Corners, site of the Davidson Century farm. There is a cross-roads leading north to Eganville and south to the completely-abandoned settlement of Newfoundout. At one time there was a post office called Donahue, at this hamlet.

From Davidsons to Plaunts Mountain is the settlement called Clontarf. This name came from a part of Dublin where Brian Boru, an Irish hero, defeated the Danes in 1014. The Sebastopol post office was established here. Agent T. P. French had his home and clearing at Clontarf on lot 50, Range C North. (Survey Note Book) Plaunts

Mountain was named after Xavier Plaunt who ran a stopping-place at the summit. This spot was called Vanbrugh.

The next stopping-place was at Foymount, named for hotel-keeper John Foy. When the Opeongo's traffic began to decline in the 1880's, Foy relocated at Eganville. (S.S.B.R.)

Brudenell, established in 1857, was another bustling village. Located a few miles to the south at Rockingham was a saw and grist mill. Brudenell had a post office, school, church and stopping-place, run by the Costello family.

1854   - Balaclava saw mill is constructed at the outlet of Constant Lake, about six miles north of Dacre. William Richards operates the mill which has an earthen dam, a flume, a water wheel, a main saw, an edger, a trimmer saw, a planer, a shingle mill and a lathe mill. ("Balaclava Treasure").

1855   - T. P. French, formerly of the Bank of British North America is appointed to supervise settlement on the Opeongo Road. He opens his agency at Mount St. Patrick, about three miles south of Dacre. (C.R.P. 19 October, 1855)

      - Brudenell and Lyndoch are first settled. (Royal Commission on Agriculture, 1881)

1856   - The Opeongo road is improved for wagon traffic from Farrells Landing to the border of Brudenell.

1857   - Agent French takes up a lot on the Opeongo in Sebastopol Range C north, lot 50. (B.L.W. & Survey Note Book)

      - T. P. French prepares a pamphlet entitled, "Information for Intending Settlers on the Ottawa and Opeongo road and its Vicinity". The tone is "unduly optimistic". (B.L.W.)

      - Survey of Sebastopol by J. A. Snow. Snow reports

a contested mill site on the creek from Clear Lake. Phineas Coyne wanted to establish a mill but he was prevented by John Egan who has a dam and slide on the creek. Snow also reports on the situation of the agricultural settlers, "... the settlers at present in the township who have land cleared are in a thriving way." The crops are excellent and had a ready market at the timber shanties of J. Egan, Gilmor and Co. and Alexander McDonald. The nearest grist mill is at Eganville. The Opeongo Road has many clearings but Snow only sees a few settlers. The road is "in excellent order, well located, suitable for farming, generally good land." (Survey Note Books)

- Walter Shanley, Civil Engineer, explores a line from the mouth of the Bonnechere to the mouth of the Magnatawan River on Georgian Bay. (C.C.K.)

1857 - Emigrants and other settlers are publicly invited to come to the Opeongo, Addington and Hastings roads. (R.C.C.L. 1857)

1858 - (R.C.C.L. 1858) "On this road 68 locations were made during the past year forming a total of 200 locations since the appointment of the resident agent, Mr. French in 1855; of these, 173 are now occupied by a resident population of 748 souls." (27 locatees must have left the area). "1372 acres of good land have been cleared, of which 800 were under crop last year. The value of the produce, including the potash manufactured, is estimated at $96,696....

The lands in the township adjacent to this road are being rapidly purchased by actual settlers, encouraged by the success of the free-grant pioneers.

A branch road, 34 miles in length, has been opened, connecting with the Hastings road." (This is the Peterson Junction Road). "It leaves the Opeongo road in the township of Brudenell and joins the Hastings road in the township of McClure. The land it is on is generally of a good quality. The junction road will greatly facilitate the settlement of the lands and also the lumbering operations in the valley of the river Madawaska."

- Poles emigrate from the Prussian-occupied region of Kaszuby to Canada, attracted by the free-grant literature. They winter in Renfrew, learning chopping and clearing methods, learning English, and earning money by hiring out as servants. (Jost)

- The Opeongo is improved for wagon traffic 13 miles beyond the border of Brudenell township. (S.S.B.R.)

1859 - (R.C.C.L. 1859) "Mr. French reports 235 settlers on the Opeongo road, of which number 59 have been located during the last year of 1859; 2,016 acres have been cleared, of these 1,090 were under cultivation last year. He estimates the value of the crop at $35,184 or an average of $30.27 an acre nearly $8.00 an acre above that of last year. ... within the limits of the free-grants, there are two schools, both well attended, two post offices, three stores, two churches and several taverns. The total population on the road is 941 souls. The two Roman Catholic churches were built at the sole expense of the settlers."

- A settlement called Rockingham is established a few miles south of Brudenell on the Peterson Junction Road by John S. J. Watson. Watson builds a grist mill in the 9th Concession of Brudenell. (Harry J. Walker)

1859 - John S. J. Watson was a remittance man, who was banished from his home at Rockingham Castle in

179

England by his aristocratic father for marrying beneath his station, to a scullery maid Mary Martin. Watson was given $10,000 and came to Canada with a group of settlers including tradesmen. They established another Rockingham in Brudenell township and built a grist and saw mill, a store, post office, blacksmiths shop, tavern, hotel, tannery, school and St. Leonards Church. (O.V.H.S.A.P.)

- Official notice is given to squatters that they no longer have a pre-emptive right to the land they occupy. (R.C.C.L. 1859)

- Fourteen Polish families take up lots on the Opeongo. (Jost)

1860 - (R.C.C.L. 1860) "Mr. French reports 58 new locations on this road during the year making a total of 275 locations, (18 families must have left) and estimates the value of the crop raised at $44,503.24; that is $30.32 on an average per acre, 1,468 acres having been under cultivation, 607 acres were cleared by the settlers. The population amounts to 989. In addition to the settlement on the road, 36,800 acres in the vicinity have been sold and nearly all occupied." Mr. French remarks in concluding his report: "The aspect of the country around here is fast changing; clearances are being enlarged; good and commodious houses and barns are succeeding the small comfortless round-log shanties, and the barnyards are becoming well tenanted with stock."

- This year marks the beginning of a thirty year period of intense lumber operations in the Ottawa Huron tract.

- The O'Grady settlement is established by seven brothers from Carleton County. Named after the Irish brothers, the settlement is located a few miles north of the Opeongo in Hagarty township. (B.L.W.)

- Another 22 Polish families settle on a remote part of the road. (Jost)

1861 - (S.S.B.R.) Mr. Curry (Esmonde) donates land for the first school house.

1861 - (R.C.C.L. 1861) "There were 40 new locations on this road during the past year, making a total of 299 free grants. The population amounts to over 1000 souls." (16 locatees must have left) "1874 acres were under crops showing an increase of 416 acres over the preceeding year. Mr. French, the resident agent, values the produce at $36,716.32."

1862 - Colonization roads are transferred back to the Crown Lands Department. (Spragge)

- Applications for lots along the Opeongo decrease when a change in policy requires a fee of $5.00 for a location of free land. T. P. French is notified that his salary is discontinued and he will receive $2.00 out of the $5.00 fee for locations. (B.L.W.)

- (R.C.C.L. 1862) The Opeongo - "The operations on this road, under my charge, commenced at the point where it is intersected by the Opeongo Junction Road. From thence, westward, the road has been completed for about 14 miles and it has been opened, but not quite finished, for nearly 19 miles farther, making a total length of 33 miles, the present western terminus of the road being at Lot 66, or about 8½ miles east of the point where the line is intersected by the Hastings Road.

The expenditure on the road to the 31st of December last was $11,092.15, made under contract. The location of the road on the surveyed line and the works performed were under the direction of the late Mr. David Bremner and T. P. French, Esq., who were appointed thereto by the Bureau.

"In obedience to your instructions, I sent my
assistant to examine the road in December last.
He found that the works under the present contract
had not been performed agreeably to the specifi-
cation but as snow covered the ground to some
depth, he was unable to ascertain in a satisfac-
tory manner, how the grubbing and levelling, etc.
had been done. The final examination had thus to
be deferred but the apparent defects were pointed
out, and the contractor was instructed to supply
them. He, at the same time, measured the extent
of road opened under the contract.

The snow also prevented my assistant from ascer-
taining the state of that portion of the road
which had been previously made, though it was
evidently considerably cut up by the traffic which
had passed over it, the great and heavy part of
which is that carried on by the lumberers.

Parties getting out timber along this road and,
even the settlers, are in the practice of throw-
ing trees across and into it, injuring the cross-
ways, obstructing the road and rendering it dan-
gerous to those travelling over it. The trees
thrown into the road are left there, a passage
barely sufficient for a waggon being cut out. The
contractor objects to clear the road which was
made of the trees thus wilfully thrown into it,
or to bear the cost of repairing injury done
thereby to the crossways which he has built."

1862   - (R.C.C.L. 1862) T. P. French's report is melan-
choly, "but few immigrants have been induced to
come here." There are only 23 new settlers,
only 11 are *bona fide*, the rest wanted to cut the
timber from their lots; 15 settlers and their
families forfeited or abandoned their lots. Sev-
eral lots were taken up by British army pension-
ers, "... all of whom were bad judges of land and
who after some experience finding selections un-
profitable abandoned them."

1864   - T. P. French reports that 38 Polish farmers and
their families, totalling 182 Kaszubs, have set-
tled on the road. A number of Poles complete
their conditions of settlement and take out
patents. Their affadavits are witnessed by
John S. J. Watson, Reeve, who promoted the cause
of Poles in Radcliffe and Sherwood, "They have
laboured under great disadvantages. They are
located mostly on very rough land unsuitable for
cultivation ... yet the appearance of their little
lots reflects great credit upon their persevering
industry for their land is very carefully cleared
and tilled and contrasts very favorable with that
of settlers from any other country." (Jost)

1865   - (C.R.P. 22 August, 1865) Samuel Owen McGuin re-
ports on road work to date, "There are 28 cause-
ways promiscuously scattered along the whole
37 miles of road (from Admaston to Peterson
Junction) which are left uncovered. I also found
that the hills mentioned in Mr. Snow's report near
Clontarf post office are not repaired as they
should be." No care was taken in the construction
of side drains and there is water in the centre of
the track. The bridge at Constant Creek, over
100 feet long and 50 feet high, is covered by a
layer of small logs which roll under the horses
feet because they are too loosely laid. There is
no railing.

        - (C.R.P. #1208, 1865) McGuin is made overseer of
the Opeongo-road works July 22, taking over from
William Harris.

1865   - (C.R.P. #1258) The settlers in the Opeongo area
petition for a new road to go from Brudenell to
Eganville.

        - (S.S.B.R.) there are only five new locations on
the road this year.

        - (Ed McKenna) J. R. Booth purchases the Bonnechere

timber limits of the Egan estate, a few years after the death of John Egan.

- (C.R.P. 1865) "The repairs begun last year have this season been completed. They extend from the Village of Renfrew, on the Bonnechere River, to the Junction of the Peterson Road, about 40 miles.

The above repairs have been well and thoroughly done, and the whole distance referred to is now pronounced to be in excellent condition for travel.

The estimate of Mr. Snow (made in the spring of 1864) for the above improvement amounted to $5,333.60. Owing to causes not necessary here to enumerate, the work has been a little more expensive, having cost the sum of $5,936.35; which amount, however, includes the sum paid for overseer services and expenses.

Expenditure for current work of season...$3,178.10
Balances due on last year...............$ 55.25
                                         _____
Total $3,233.35"

1866   - (Ed McKenna) J. R. Booth purchases the Bonnechere timber limits of the Egan estate, a few years after the death of John Egan.

1867   - (C.R.P. 1867) The Opeongo - "... from Farrell's Landing on the Ottawa, northwesterly to Opeongo Lake, about 100 miles. About 78 miles of this road have been made, commencing from the Ottawa River. Thus, 6 miles, to Renfrew Village, 50 thence to the junction of the Peterson road and 32 miles above the latter point towards Opeongo Lake. There have been expended in the first place in the opening of these 78 miles about $33,545, and on about 55 miles of the above distance, $10,069.52 have been expended in repairs of the road. My opinion of this road is that it has been advanced as far, at least, as it is

profitable to carry it."

1870   - Settlers begin construction of a field-stone church at Brudenell, under the guidance of the Roman Catholic priest James McCormac. (B.L.W.)

- A Polish priest comes to Wilno to minister to the settlers but leaves after six months. (Radecki)

1871   - (Renfrew County Atlas) In Renfrew County, lumber is the most important industry. The principal crops raised are hay and oats for lumber camps; also raised are other grains, roots, butter, cheese, maple sugar, honey, some hops and tobacco, considerable numbers of cattle, hogs and sheep, are raised for sale as well as for wool. Domestic manufacture includes: leather, shingles, lime, charcoal, pot and pearl ashes. Mining employs a few people in the extraction of iron ore, marble and building stone. Other occupations include fishing, fur-trapping and hunting.

- (C.R.P. 1871) The Opeongo - "To repair a few very defective points in this road, lying between the village of Renfrew and Foy's tavern on the said road, the sum of $150 were appropriate.

The outlay has been made accordingly, and the repairs effected.

Expenditure ....$150.00."

1872   - (H. J. Walker) "The Battle of Brudenell" Renfrew had been a Liberal riding until 1872 when John A. MacDonald's Conservatives redistributed the voting and added five new townships to the south Renfrew riding. It was a time of open voting and a man's vote could be obtained through bribes or coercion. The battle occurred when the Liberal member, McDougall, attempted to reach Brudenell; he was ambushed by a group of

Conservatives who had created a barricade across the road with fallen trees. A "terrific yelling" followed and shots were fired; fortunately no one was hurt and the Liberals retired from the area leaving the Conservatives with a free hand. The result was the election of Conservative O'Reilly, despite accusations of dirty dealing; "Whole graveyards voted for O'Reilly, and the Polish electors were told if they shouted the magic word "O'Reilly" at the right time they would each get 200 acres of land."

1873 - (C.R.P. 1873) The Opeongo - "Some improvements have been made in repairing this road southward of the Peterson intersection. Five hundred dollars were appropriated for the above purpose.

The amount has been expended under an overseer in repairing crossways and filling mudholes, and general repairs,

Expenditure..............................$500.00

(North) The northerly section of the Opeongo road suffered great damage last spring and summer from fires which consumed nearly all the bridges and crossways.

So great was the damage on account of the above fires, that all travel was, for the time being, stayed upon the road. The Opeongo River bridge was also burned."

1874 - (C.R.P. 1874) The Opeongo - "Repairs were commenced upon this road in Horton, a short distance from the Village of Renfrew, and continued as far as Clontarf Post Office, a distance of twenty seven miles.

These repairs have been of a general character, such as raising the road bed, opening side and off-take ditches, the removal from the road bed of protruding rocks, widening the road, brushing

low places and covering with earth, renewing crossways and covering same, and reducing (where practicable) hills of steep ascent.

Total expenditure.....................$2,823.53."

1875 - (C.R.P. 1875) The Opeongo - "The first work on this road this season commenced where that of last year closed, viz., at Clontarf P.O.

No final Report of the work done on this Section has been yet received. There has been paid on account $3,163.53.

In the latter end of the season urgent representations were made to the Department of the necessity for repairs being done on an upper portion of this road, called the "Prussian Hills". As very little of the working period of the year remained when the Department decided to comply with the above request, two labourers' gangs were organized in order to complete the work alluded to. One of the overseers has reported his section finished, a distance of six miles. From the other no Report has yet been received. Paid on account of both gangs, $600."

- The branch road from Eganville due south to the Opeongo was repaired for four miles at a cost of $870.63. (C.R.P. 1875)

- A priest from Poland comes to Wilno area. (Radecki)

1876 - Polish settlers build a Roman Catholic chapel. (Radecki)

- (C.R.P. 1876) The Opeongo - "The repairs on this road were commenced in the Township of Sherwood, on lot 202, and were produced as far as to lot No. 90, in the Township of Robinson, fifteen miles. A great many log bridges and crossways were renewed over this distance, as most of the

old road works, constructed some fifteen years ago, were rotted or burned.

Expenditure.............................$2,087.83."

1880   - A wooden church was commenced by the Polish set-
          tlers and completed in 1895. (Radecki)

        - (C.R.P. 1880) "The Dacre and Mount St. Patrick
          Road - This road is three miles long running from
          the Opeongo road in Dacre village in a southerly
          course along the south side of Constance Creek.

          The labour expended upon it has made what is re-
          ported a first-class road.

          Expenditure.............................$535.75.

          Two sections of this highway (the Opeongo) re-
          ceived considerable repairs, one portion extends
          from a place well known in the locality, Foy's
          Hotel, four and a half miles westward. The second
          work was over a length of eight miles. Both
          portions were known to be in a very bad condition.

          Expenditure.............................$976.70."

        - Small-scale workings of apatite are opened in
          Sebastopol. (R.O.D.M. 1944)

        - Seven hotels are operating in Eganville, includ-
          ing Foy's which was re-located from the Opeongo.
          (Historical Review of Eganville)

1881   - (Royal Commission on Agriculture 1881) Popu-
          lation figures: Grattan 1,662, Brougham 600,
          Sebastopol 537, Brudenell-Lyndoch 1,162,
          Radcliffe, Sherwood, Jones 537. Settlers report
          no first-class land, mainly cedar fencing, land
          still covered with stumps, mainly inferior frame-
          and-log houses, a few machines: reapers, seed
          drills, sulky rakes, mowers; land is hilly - best
          for stock-raising; main crops: spring wheat, hay,
          oats, rye, peas, potatoes, turnips, main market -

timber shanties - crops go to the Central Ontario
Railway or Pembroke.

1881   - (C.R.P. 1881) The Opeongo - "This road was re-
          paired, from Shamrock village (about 10 miles
          west of Renfrew) to the village of Dacre, 6½
          miles, and again from Constance Creek (some 26
          miles west of Renfrew) westerly, to Vanbrugh,
          7 miles, making 13½ miles of road very well re-
          paired.

          Expenditure.............................$1,046.05"

1882   - (C.R.P. 1882) The Opeongo - "Repaired in three
          sections as follows: - 1. From 2 miles west of
          where intersected by the Peterson Road, 2 miles
          westerly. 2. Along the 16th concession of
          Brudenell, over a very stony portion; and
          3. From Renfrew westerly, 6 miles. This last
          section was also rough and stony."

1883   - (C.R.P. 1883 - The Opeongo - "Which is the main
          highway through the County of Renfrew, is a very
          rough one, and a much larger sum than the grant
          of this year is required to make it such as it
          ought to be. In fact an annual outlay for main-
          tenance should be made to keep it in anything
          like good condition to meet the heavy traffic
          over it. This season, however, the money spent
          upon it will no doubt induce settlement in the
          district through which it passes.

          The repairs this season were as follows: From
          a point 1½ miles west of D'Acre in the township
          of Grattan, westerly about 20 miles, and again
          from Free Grant lot 142 in the township of Jones,
          in the township of Jones, easterly, 4½ miles,
          making 24½ miles, which were very fairly repaired.
          I also upon the ground employed a settler living
          near the work to repair a very bad spot in the
          township of Brudenell, which cost $58.50."

1885 — (C.R.P. 1885) The Opeongo — "Twenty-seven miles repaired in four different sections, namely: From Shamrock easterly, five miles; from one and a half miles west of D'Acre, eight miles; from Brudenell westerly, seven and a half miles, and from "Foy's" easterly, six and a half miles.

Opeongo and South Algona Road — This work, which may be called construction, as but a small portion had been previously partially opened, was commenced at the Opeongo Road, between lots 5 and 6, Concession II, of Brudenell and the road made from thence northerly along the said line between lots 5 and 6 to the 12th concession line, and from thence east on the last mentioned line to the boundary between Brudenell and South Algona, two and a half miles."

1886 — (C.R.P. 1886) The Opeongo — "Through the township of Sherwood, this road was originally built over what are known as the 'Prussian Hills' but which were so rugged and steep as to make the road at that part almost impracticable for general teaming.

A diversion of six and a half miles has this season been made to avoid the hills with, I believe, very satisfactory results. It begins at Free Grant lot 214 and is upon the north side of the road, and constructed westerly.

Six miles of the old road were repaired between Foy's and Plaunt's hotels.

Opeongo and Rockingham Road — This is a road from the Opeongo Road to the village of Rockingham, beginning at a point about six miles west of the village of Brudenell.

About six miles of repairs were made."

1887 — (C.R.P. 1887) The Opeongo — "Of the grant of $1,200, the sum of about $700 was spent in improv-

ing a deviation made last year about the Prussian Hills, as then more fully described. This portion is reported as well repaired and very much improved over its length of six miles.

For the balance of the appropriation four miles between Brudenell and 'Foy's Hotel' were repaired, making a total of ten miles of improvement."

1888 — (C.R.P. 1888) The Opeongo — "A bridge 160 feet long was built over Constant Creek on this road. It is entirely of cedar and ought to be a serviceable and lasting structure."

1890 — At Esmonde, St. Josephs, a stone church is dedicated by Father Byrne of Eganville. The stone is quarried from Davidson's farm and the old log chapel is attached to the new church and used as a sacristy. (Anniversary Observance 1965)

1891 — St. Clements, a log with frame exterior church is built at Clontarf. St. Clements is an Anglican Church. (B.L.W.)

1892 — (C.R.P. 1892) The Opeongo — "Brennan's Creek Bridge — A substantial bridge built over Brennan's creek near the village of Killaloe at a cost of $272.46 as certified by the reeve of the municipality. The grant of $100 is a contribution towards the same."

1893 — J. R. Booth builds a railway, the Ottawa, Arnprior and Parry Sound and the Opeongo Road is by-passed as a travel route to the lumber camps. (B.L.W.)

1895 — In the Barry's Bay area, "... the mid 1890's saw a renewal of Kashub immigration, and another 250 families arrived within a period of four years, recruited in Poland by the Wilno Parish Priest. Another 40 families came from the United States where they had been since the 1860's but

where they had had difficulties with the language and suffered from local economic depressions." (Radecki)

1898   - (C.R.P. 1898) The Opeongo - "Six miles from Shamrock eastward to the Kingston and Pembroke railway and three miles from Brudenell westward were substantially improved."

1902   - (C.R.P. 1902) The Opeongo - "Brennan's Creek Bridge - A bridge on the Opeongo Road, about four miles west of Brudenell Village was rebuilt."

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